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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 1, January 1983



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Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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SIXTY YEARS OF USSR

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[Report by Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary at the joint ceremonious session of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 21 December 1982]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Dear guests!

Sixty years ago, the peoples of our country, emancipated by the victorious October Revolution, voluntarily joined into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (applause).

In closing down the First Unification Congress of Soviet Republics, at which the founding of the USSR was proclaimed, M. I. Kalinin said: "In the course of millenia the best human minds struggled with the theoretical problem of finding methods which would give the nations the opportunity to live in friendship and fraternity without the greatest of pains and internecine struggle. It is only now, today, that the cornerstone in this direction is being laid in practice" (M. I. Kalinin, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], in four volumes. Vol I, Moscow, 1960, p 359) (applause).

The development of capitalism did not lead to the elimination of national oppression. On the contrary, national oppression was expanded and aggravated by colonial oppression. Having enslaved hundreds of millions of people, a handful of capitalist countries doomed them to vegetating and blocked their path to progress.

Marxism was the first to reveal the organic ties linking the national problem with the social and class structure of society and with the dominating type of ownership. In other words, the roots of national relations are in the social soil. That is why Marx and Engels reached the basic conclusion that the elimination of social oppression is a prerequisite and a postulate for the elimination of national oppression. "... The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie," Marx said, "is also a signal for the liberation of all oppressed nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 371). The immortal slogan proclaimed by the founders of Marxism "Workers of the world unite!" became a call for international struggle waged by the working people against all forms of enslavement--both social and national (applause).

V. I. Lenin continued the work of Marx and Engels under the new historical conditions. He headed the revolutionary movement when the first glimmer of the revolution began to rise over Russia. In a country which was justifiably known as the "prison of the peoples," naturally the national problem assumed one of the first places in the elaboration of the bolshevik party's strategy and tactics.

Lenin's center of attention was focused on the right of nations to self-determination as the only reliable means of ensuring their actual and firm rapprochement. The right to self-determination alone could become the ideological and political foundation of the voluntary unification of all nations in the struggle for the overthrow of czarism and the creation of a new society. That is the way Lenin formulated the problem. This was the pivot of the national policy of the Leninist party (applause).

The October Revolution translated political slogans and demands into daily organizational work. Life itself, and the most difficult economic, social, foreign policy and defense problems which had to be resolved dictated the need to rally the people, to unify the republics which appeared on the ruins of the Russian Empire.

What may seem obvious today was by far not obvious during those tempestuous transitional times. The search for specific governmental forms and political institutions which would fit the general ideas and premises of a national program took place in the course of acute disputes. A great variety of opinions clash, from programs calling for a loose and amorphous unification of republics within the framework of a federation, to the demand simply to include them within the RSFSR with an autonomous status. V. I. Lenin's genius and authority were needed to find and support the only true way--the way of socialist federalism.

Briefly stated, the essence of the way indicated by Lenin could be described as follows: an entirely voluntary union of free peoples as a guarantee for a maximally strong federation of socialist republics; total equality of all nations and nationalities and a consistent line of elimination not only of their legal but their actual inequality; the free development of each republic and nationality within the framework of their fraternal alliance; and the persistent development of an internationalist awareness and a steady course of rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in our country.

It was precisely the year that the Soviet Union was founded that V. I. Lenin wrote the words which vividly expressed the course of his thoughts on the national problem. They were the following: "Our experience in resolving the national problem over a 5-year period in a state including an abundance of nationalities which could hardly be found in any other country entirely convinces us of the fact that the only proper attitude toward the interests of nations under such conditions will be their maximal satisfaction and the creation of conditions which would exclude any possible conflict on such grounds. Our experience," Lenin went on to say, "has developed in us the firm conviction that it is only tremendous attentiveness toward the interests of the different nations which will eliminate grounds for conflicts,

reciprocal mistrust and the fear of intrigues of all sorts and will create the type of trust, particularly among workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which neither peaceful relations among nations nor any successful development whatsoever of anything valuable in modern civilization would be absolutely impossible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 240).

Lenin's behests and national policy principles are sacred to us. By relying on them and systematically applying them we created a powerful state--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--the formation of which was not only a major step in the development of socialism but one of the most important turning points in the course of universal history (lengthy applause).

1. Results of the Distance Covered and National Policy Tasks

The distance covered by the Soviet Union in 60 years constitutes an entire age. Never in history has there been another such headlong flight from a condition of backwardness, disaster and dislocation to the power of a great modern state with the highest possible cultural standard and steadily rising well-being of the people.

What are the most significant results of our development?

The historical accuracy of the doctrine of Marx and Lenin to the effect that the solution of the national problem can be found only on a class basis was fully confirmed. National discord and all types of racial and national inequality and oppression have disappeared along with social antagonisms;

Convincing proof was shown that the leading and guiding force in the socialist solution of the national problem and a guarantee of the accuracy of this solution is the communist party with its scientific policy;

The backward national outlying areas in which feudal-patriarchal and even tribal relations frequently predominated, have disappeared;

A single united national economic complex has been organized on the basis of the dynamic economic growth of all republics guided by a general state plan;

The social structure of the republics has changed qualitatively; a modern working class developed in each one of them; the peasantry is following the kolkhoz way; a native intelligentsia was created and skilled cadres were trained in all fields of state and social life;

A socialist multinational culture blossomed on the basis of progressive traditions and intensive exchange of spiritual values;

Socialist nations were formed, now constituting a new historical community--the Soviet people (lengthy applause).

The interests of the individual republics are becoming increasingly intertwined. Mutual aid and ties, which direct into a single channel the

constructive efforts of the nations and nationalities within the Soviet Union, are becoming increasingly fruitful. The comprehensive development of each of the socialist nations in our country legitimately leads to their drawing closer and closer to each other.

Each one of the union republics--the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirgizia, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia--each union republic, I repeat, is making an irreplaceable contribution to the general economic and cultural upsurge of the Soviet Union. This, comrades, is not merely a totaling but a substantial multiplication of our creative forces (applause).

All nations and nationalities living in the 20 autonomous republics and 18 autonomous oblasts and okrugs are successfully proving their possibilities within the fraternal family. Millions of Germans, Poles, Koreans, Kurds and members of other nationalities, to whom the Soviet Union has long become a homeland, are full Soviet citizens.

The peoples of our country are particularly grateful to the Russian people. Today's accomplishments of any one of the republics would have been impossible without its selfless fraternal aid. The Russian language, which has naturally become part of the lives of millions of people of all nationalities, is a factor of exceptional importance in the country's economic, political and cultural life, the rapprochement among all its nations and nationalities and their exposure to the wealth of world civilization (applause).

The new USSR Constitution was a major landmark in strengthening the national-state foundations of Soviet society. This outstanding document not only sums up the results of previous developments but lays the firm and stable political and legal foundations for the further blossoming and rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in the country.

The real quality changes which have taken place over the past 60 years in national relations prove that the national question, as we inherited it from the exploiting system, has been resolved successfully, definitively and irreversibly (lengthy applause). For the first time in history, the multinational composition of the country turned from a source of its weakness into a source of its strength and prosperity (applause).

In a speech delivered in this hall 10 years ago to the day, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev put it quite well: "Relations unparalleled in history ... have developed in our country, which we justifiably describe as the Leninist friendship among the peoples. This friendship, comrades, is our priceless possession, one of the most significant gains of socialism, most precious to the heart of every Soviet person. We, the Soviet people, will always care for this friendship like the apple of our eye!" (L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course]. Moscow, 1975, vol 4, p 50) (lengthy applause).

Today, on this solemn day, we are rendering their due to many generations of Soviet people of all nationalities, men and women, workers and peasants,

intellectuals, party and soviet workers, members of the armed forces, and party and nonparty members--to all those who built socialism, who defended it in a most difficult war and who turned into reality the millennial dream of equality, friendship and fraternity among nations (lengthy applause).

Comrades! Naturally, as we sum up our accomplishments, our greatest attention is focused on what remains to be done. Our end objective is clear. In the words of V. I. Lenin, "It is not only the rapprochement among the nations but their merger" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 27, p 256). The party is well aware of the fact that the road leading to this objective is long. In no case can we hasten or, conversely, allow the restraining of ripe processes.

The successes achieved in resolving the national problem do not mean by far that all problems which arise by the very fact that a number of nations and nationalities live and work within the framework of a single state have disappeared. This will hardly be possible as long as nations exist, as long as national differences remain. Such differences will remain for a long time, far longer than class differences.

That is why perfecting developed socialism--it is precisely in such terms that we can define the main content of the activities of the party and the people at the present stage--must include a planned, a scientifically substantiated national policy. Allow me to discuss some of its tasks.

We already mentioned the tremendous advantages and benefits which unification has given the peoples of our country and its republics. However, the possibilities offered by this unification are by far not exhausted.

Let us consider the economy. The contemporary production forces demand integration even when it is a question of different countries. They demand to an even greater extent the closer and skillful unification of the efforts of the individual republics and regions within a single country. The most sensible utilization of natural and labor resources and climatic features of each republic and the most efficient inclusion of this potential within that of the entire union are the factors which will be most beneficial to each region, nation and nationality, to the entire state.

This is our main concept. Its implementation will demand a great deal of work on the part of our central and local planning and economic organs. This will also require further improvements in the location of production forces, regional specialization and cooperation and systems for economic connections and transportation. Naturally, this is a difficult task. However, it is ripe and its solution promises considerable benefits.

Today the entire country is working on the implementation of the Food Program. The program clearly defines the specific tasks of all union republics. Each one of them must work hard in order to make a real contribution in the most important project of ensuring uninterrupted food supplies to the Soviet people.

As we know, the program deals with the primary, the urgent tasks. However, if we think of the future we cannot fail to see that the further development of our agroindustrial complex--as, actually, the country's economy as a whole--will require a more profound and systematic specialization of agriculture on a national scale.

Here is another problem: in a country as large as ours, transportation plays an extremely special role--economic, political and, if you wish, psychological.

The accelerated development of all the republics and the further intensification of their economic cooperation would be rather difficult to achieve without a properly operating transportation system. However, transportation is important not only in terms of resolving strictly economic problems. The development of transportation and a road network, which will bring the country closer to town, will greatly contribute, among others, to retaining cadres in the villages. Naturally, this will also help to resolve a major social problem, that of the efficient and flexible utilization of labor resources. By ensuring daily human contacts on the scale of the entire Soviet Union and living ties among all republics and parts of the country, the transportation system helps to expose the people to the achievements of socialist civilization in the broadest meaning of the term.

Unification became one of the additional sources of both the material and the spiritual wealth of the Soviet people. However, here again we are hardly making use of all opportunities. We must persistently search for new ways and means of work consistent with today's requirements and enabling us to make even more fruitful the reciprocal enrichment of cultures, and offering the people even broader access to the best features of the cultures of each of our peoples. Radio and television as well as, naturally, the other mass information media must play a growing role in this notable project.

Obviously, we must remember in this case that the spiritual legacy, traditions and way of life of each nation have not only good but bad and obsolete features. Hence another task arises--to discard rather than preserve what is bad and obsolete, what conflicts with the norms of Soviet community life, socialist morality and our communist ideals.

Reality proves that the economic and cultural progress of all nations and nationalities is inevitably accompanied by their increased national self-awareness. This is a legitimate, an objective process. However, it is important that the natural pride in our successes not turn into national boastfulness or conceit, or to trigger trends toward exclusivity and a disrespectful attitude toward other nations and nationalities. Yet we still come across such negative phenomena. It would be erroneous to explain this in terms of vestiges of the past alone, for they are nurtured sometimes by our own work blunders. In this case, comrades, there are no petty matters. Everything is important--the attitude toward language, monuments of the past, interpretation of historical events and the way we change our villages and cities and influence the working and living conditions of the people.

As a result of natural population migrations, each one of our republics and, to one extent or another, each oblast and city becomes increasingly multinational. This means that the party and soviet organs and all of our local cadres are increasingly becoming promoters and executors of the party's national policy. They must implement the lofty principles of this policy on a daily basis, ensuring the development of harmonious and fraternal relations among the members of all--big and small--nations and nationalities at work and in daily life.

The party has always paid tremendous attention to the growth of the national detachments of the Soviet working class--the leading force in our society. The results are obvious. Today workers account for the largest social group in all union republics. In some of them, however, the native nationalities must become more fully represented within the working class. Hence the task set by the 26th CPSU Congress of expanding and improving the training of skilled workers in all nations and nationalities in the republics. This is demanded by economic progress. This is politically important as well. Multinational labor and above all worker collectives are precisely the environment in which the spirit of internationalism is developed better than anywhere else and the friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the USSR are strengthened (lengthy applause).

Another rather important problem is that of the representation of the working people in the party and state organs of the individual republics and the union at large. Naturally, it is not a matter of formal norms of representation. A mathematical approach to the solution of such problems would be unsuitable. However, we must consistently see to it that all nationalities inhabiting one republic or another are properly represented on the various levels of the party and soviet organs. The consideration of practical and moral and political qualities and attention and concern as well as great tactfulness in the selection and deployment of cadres are particularly necessary under the conditions of a multinational structure of union and autonomous republics.

Educating the Soviet people in a spirit of mutual respect and friendship among all nations and nationalities in the country, love for their great Soviet homeland, internationalism and solidarity with the working people of other countries is a task of permanent significance. This is a problem facing all party and Komsomol organizations, soviets and trade unions and our armed forces, which have always been a good school for internationalism. This must also become the daily concern of all educational institutions in the country (applause).

We face major tasks in the field of international upbringing as in all ideological and mass political work. A convincing and specific depiction of our accomplishments, serious analyses of new problems continuously created by life, and fresh thoughts and words are the way leading to all our propaganda which must always be truthful and realistic as well as interesting, inventive and, therefore, more efficient (applause).

The further development of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the USSR largely depends on the intensification of socialist democracy. The leading trend in our political life may be most briefly described as the increasing participation of the working people of all nationalities in the administration of public and governmental affairs. The party intends to do everything possible to strengthen and develop this trend.

All of this, comrades, leads to the conclusion that under mature socialist conditions problems of interrelationship among nations remain on the agenda. They demand the particular concern and the steady attention of the communist party. The party must study them profoundly. It must earmark means to resolve them while creatively enriching the practice of developed socialism with the Leninist principles of national policy (applause).

We can boldly discuss existing problems and unfulfilled assignments, for we are firmly convinced that we can and must resolve them (lengthy applause). What is needed today for the great and powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to be even stronger is action rather than loud words (tempestuous and lengthy applause). I am confident that this is also what everyone gathered here, our entire party, the entire Soviet people think (stormy applause).

2. The USSR--Bulwark of the Great Cause of Peace and Freedom of the Peoples

Comrades! On this very day, on 30 December 1922, when the Declaration and the Treaty on the Founding of the USSR were adopted, at a conference held in Lozanne, it was stated, on Lenin's instructions, that, guided by the interests of universal peace, the Soviet republics deem it "their urgent duty ... to help with all their strength the establishment of a system of political equality among races and respect for the rights of the peoples to self-determination and total political and economic independence of all countries" ("Dokumenty Vneshney Politiki SSSR" [USSR Foreign Policy Documents], Moscow, 1962, vol 6, p 124).

It was in such simple and clear terms that the essence of an essentially new foreign policy, which the first socialist country in the world began systematically to implement, was presented (applause).

An entirely new type of international relations began to develop as well with the appearance of more socialist countries. It was based on ideological unity, common objectives and comradely cooperation, with full respect for the interests, characteristics and traditions of each country. It was also based on the principle of socialist internationalism.

The socialist countries followed an untrodden path in the development of these relations. Previous human experience was unable to suggest answers to problems raised by life. Understandably, not everything here was achieved immediately, the more so since the countries which constitute the world socialist system began from quite different initial positions, both in terms of internal development and external circumstances. It was not always

possible to draw prompt conclusions based on changes occurring within the socialist world itself, with no time for consideration: new forms of relations had to be tested on the run. Some illusions had to be outlived and errors were made which had to be paid for.

However, in assessing our countries at present, we can say with satisfaction that we have learned a great deal and that the cooperation among socialist states is a powerful, a healthy organism which plays a tremendous beneficial role in the contemporary world. The mechanism of fraternal cooperation covers all possible realms of life in our countries and a variety of directions of interaction in the building of socialism. Through joint efforts we are finding increasingly successful ways of combining the common interests of the comity with those of each of its individual members (lengthy applause).

Naturally, to this day we cannot say that all difficulties lie behind us and that the ideal has been attained. That which occurred yesterday must be improved today. The members of our comity face a number of serious problems. They include the protection of our socialist gains and values from imperialist pressure, joint struggle to strengthen peace and detente, further improvements in political cooperation and, finally, giving a new impetus to the process of economic integration.

Therefore, extensive work lies ahead. I would like to assert that the Soviet Union for one will do everything possible to ensure the strengthening and blossoming of world socialism (lengthy applause).

Comrades! The experience gained in providing a socialist solution to the national problem is being carefully studied by dozens of countries liberated from colonial oppression. Our successes in the building of socialism, the historical victory over fascism and the blossoming of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union have become a powerful incentive in the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The active and decisive struggle waged by the Soviet Union for the elimination of colonialism and its invariable support of the cause of the liberation and equality among nations facilitate their path to freedom and progress. The peoples of Asia, Africa, the Arab East and Latin America are well familiar with this.

The young countries freed from colonial oppression are currently experiencing a difficult period of national establishment and social development. They are being hindered by the backwardness and internecine discords and conflicts inherited from the colonial past. Insufficiently strong countries are threatened by the numerous traps set by the neocolonizers. However, we are confident that the decisive opposition to imperialism, a planned strategy of economic and sociopolitical development and reciprocal respect for the interests and rights of other nations will enable the peoples of these countries to surmount what is known as growth difficulties. The Soviet people wish them great success in strengthening their independence and in their struggle for prosperity and progress (lengthy applause).

We respect the nonalignment movement, the peace-loving policy of which is making a useful contribution to international life. We are firmly and invariably on the side of those who, to this day, must struggle for the freedom, independence and very existence of their peoples, who are forced to repel the pressure of the aggressor or are threatened by aggression. This position is inseparable from the struggle for durable peace on earth which the Soviet Union is pursuing systematically and tirelessly (applause).

Over the past 60 years the situation of the Soviet Union has changed radically. Its prestige and influence have increased immeasurably. The Soviet Union is linked with countries on all continents through a solid fabric of peaceful cooperation. Its voice is authoritatively heard at international gatherings. The principles of peaceful coexistence--the foundation of USSR foreign policy--have earned broad international recognition. They have been included in dozens of international documents, including the Final Act of the European Conference in Helsinki. The proposals submitted by the USSR have become part of the foundations of the most important decisions approved by the United Nations on matters of strengthening peace and security.

However, each step toward strengthening peace has remained hard, demanding an intensive struggle against imperialist "hawks." It has become particularly aggravated today, with the energizing of the most militant groups whose class hatred of socialism is stronger than their sense of reality and sometimes simple common sense.

The imperialists are not abandoning their plans of economic warfare against the socialist countries and intervention in their domestic affairs in the hope of weakening their social system. They are trying to gain military superiority over the USSR and all members of the socialist comity.

Naturally, these plans are doomed to failure. No one can turn back the course of historical development. Attempts to "strangle" socialism failed even when the Soviet state had just begun to stand on its feet and was the only socialist country in the world. Such efforts would be even more futile today (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

However, we cannot fail to see that today's policy pursued by Washington has aggravated the international situation to an extremely dangerous level.

Military preparations undertaken by the United States and the NATO bloc headed by it have assumed an unparalleled and record-setting scale. We hear from official Washington representatives considerations of possible "limited," "protracted," and other varieties of nuclear war. Efforts are being made to pacify the people and to accustom them to the idea of its acceptability. Only those who are truly blind to the realities of our age would fail to see that whatever the manner or wherever a nuclear storm would break out it would inevitably become uncontrolled and trigger a universal catastrophe.

Our position on this matter is clear: we must not allow a nuclear war, whether small or large, limited or total (lengthy applause). No task is more

important today than that of stopping the advocates of a new war. This is demanded by the vital interests of all nations. That is why the unilateral obligation which was assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use a nuclear weapon was welcomed with the approval and hope of the entire world. Were the other nuclear states to follow our example this would become a truly substantial contribution to the prevention of nuclear war.

It is being said that the West cannot assume such an obligation since, allegedly, the Warsaw Pact enjoys superiority in conventional weapons. To begin with, such is not the case, as confirmed by facts and figures. Furthermore, as we know, we favor a limitation of such armaments and the search for sensible and mutually acceptable decisions on such matters as well. We are also prepared to reach an agreement on not being the first to use not only nuclear but conventional armaments as well.

One of the main ways leading to a real diminution of the threat of nuclear war, naturally, is reaching an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on limiting and reducing strategic nuclear armaments. We are approaching such talks with a feeling of total responsibility. We are seeking an honest agreement which will not harm either party and would lead to a reduction in their nuclear arsenals.

Unfortunately, however, we see a different approach on the part of the Americans. While calling for "radical reductions," they actually mean a reduction of the Soviet strategic potential. Meanwhile, the United States would like to have a free hand in increasing strategic armaments. The very thought that we might agree to this is absurd (applause). All of this, naturally, would suit the Pentagon. However, it is totally unacceptable to the Soviet Union and to anyone interested in preserving and strengthening peace (applause).

Compare this with the proposals submitted by the USSR. They are based on the preservation of parity. We are ready to reduce our strategic armaments by more than one-quarter. U.S. armaments must be reduced respectively, so that both countries have an equal number of means of delivery of strategic weapons. We are also suggesting a substantial reduction in the number of nuclear warheads and maximally limiting improvements in nuclear weapons.

Our proposals cover all types of strategic weapons. They call for reducing the arsenals of such weapons by many hundreds of units. They block all possible channels for further arms races in this area. This is merely the beginning. An agreement on this basis would become the starting point for even greater reciprocal reductions in the quantities of such weapons, about which the two parties could reach an agreement based on the general strategic situation in the world.

For the duration of the talks we are proposing something indicated by common sense: a freeze of the strategic arsenals of both sides. The U.S. government is unwilling to accept this and today everyone can understand its reason: it has undertaken a new significant increase in the field of nuclear armaments.

Washington's efforts to justify this increase are obviously insubstantial. Claims of "lagging" behind the USSR, a lag which the Americans should allegedly eliminate, are obviously untrue, as has been pointed out frequently. Furthermore, statements to the effect that such new weapons systems as, for example, the MX missile, should "contribute to the success of the disarmament talks" could hardly be more ridiculous.

The program for further increasing armaments will not lead the Soviet Union into making unilateral concessions. We shall be forced to answer the American challenge with the deployment of our own respective armament systems: the MX will be countered by a similar Soviet missile; and the American long-range cruise missile will be countered by our own long-range cruise missile which is already undergoing tests in our country (lengthy applause).

None of this is a threat. We are totally against such a course of events and are doing everything possible to avoid it. However, the makers of U.S. policy and the public at large should have a proper idea of the real situation. Therefore, if Washington truly believes that new weapons systems will be an American "trump" in the talks, it should know that such "trump cards" are a sham (lengthy applause). A policy founded on the desire to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union is futile and can only increase the threat of war.

A word now on what is usually described as measures of trust. We take them seriously.

Bearing in mind the speed of action and power of modern weapons, an atmosphere of reciprocal suspicion is particularly dangerous. Even a stupid accident, a blunder, a technical breakdown could entail tragic consequences. It is important, therefore, to remove the finger from the trigger and apply the safety catch. Something is being done in this direction, particularly within the framework of the Helsinki agreements. As we know, the Soviet Union has proposed even more serious and broad measures. Our proposals on this matter are on the table of the Soviet-American talks on limiting and reducing nuclear armaments, being held in Geneva.

We are also prepared to consider proposals in this area expressed by others, including the recent one formulated by the U.S. President. However, the measures he mentioned will not dissipate the atmosphere of mutual suspicions or restore trust. Something greater is necessary: the normalizing of the situation, the abandonment of the preaching of hostility and hatred, and the propaganda of nuclear war. Naturally, the main path leading to trust and the prevention of any war, including an accidental one, is the elimination of the arms race and the restoration of calm and correct relations among countries and detente (applause).

We deem this to be important throughout the earth, but particularly in Europe, where any outbreak could bring about a universal explosion.

A new danger threatens the continent today--the possibility of deploying several hundred American missiles in Western Europe. I must frankly say that this would make peace even more brittle.

We believe that the threat facing the European peoples as it does the peoples the world over can be prevented. It is entirely possible to save and strengthen peace in Europe without harming anyone's security. That is precisely why for more than 1 year we have been discussing with the United States in Geneva means of restricting and limiting nuclear armaments in Europe.

The Soviet Union is willing to go quite far. As we know, we proposed an agreement on the abandonment of all types of nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe, whether medium-range or tactical. However, this initiative met with a wall of silence. Clearly, there is unwillingness to accept it and fear of rejecting it openly. Allow me to repeat the assertion that this proposal of ours remains valid (applause).

We have proposed another variant as well: for the USSR and the NATO countries to reduce their medium-range armaments by a factor of more than 3. So far, the United States has not accepted this. In turn, it called for something which can be jocularly described as the "zero option." It calls for the removal of all Soviet medium-range missiles not only on the European but the Asian part of the USSR, while preserving and even increasing NATO's nuclear missile arsenal in Europe. Could anyone seriously think that the Soviet Union would agree to this? It is more likely that Washington would like to wreck an agreement so that, referring to the failure of the talks, it can deploy its missiles on European soil one way or another.

The future will show whether such is the case or not. We shall continue to strive for an accord on a basis equitable to both sides. In particular, we are ready for the Soviet Union to retain in Europe only as many missiles as those of Britain and France and not one more missile. This means that the Soviet Union would eliminate hundreds of missiles, including many dozens of most advanced missiles which the West knows as the SS-20. As to the medium-range missiles, an agreement reached by the USSR and the United States would be a truly honest "zero option." Furthermore, should the number of British and French missiles be reduced in the future, an additional reduction in the number of Soviet missiles would follow.

At the same time, agreement should be reached also on equalizing the number of airplanes carrying medium-range weapons, available in this area both to the USSR and the NATO members.

We call upon our partners to accept such a clear and just agreement and to make use of this opportunity while it exists. However, let no one be mistaken: we shall never allow our security, and the security of our allies, to be threatened. One should also consider the difficult consequences which the deployment of the new American medium-range missiles in Europe would have in terms of all further efforts to limit nuclear armaments in general. In a word, it is now up to the United States.

Let me say in conclusion that we favor a broad, free cooperation among all peoples on earth for the sake of their mutual advantage and the well-being of all mankind, free of diktat and intervention in foreign matters (lengthy

applause). The Soviet Union will do everything within its power to assure the present and future generations a calm and peaceful future. This is the purpose of our policy from which we shall not retreat (lengthy applause).

Comrades! Looking back at the way covered over 60 years of life of the USSR, we can clearly see that all of our accomplishments and victories are inseparably linked to the activities of the Leninist communist party. It is precisely the party which was and remains the powerful creative and mobilizing force which ensures steady progress in all directions of social advancement.

In terms of ideology, composition and structure our party is the living embodiment of the unity and cohesion among all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union. In aiming its policy toward harmoniously combining national with international interests, the party is creating the type of social conditions in which the well-being and all-round development of each nation are prerequisites for the upsurge and well-being of our entire fraternal union.

When we say that "people and party are as one!" we state the insurmountable fact that the objectives and tasks which the party has set itself precisely express the expectations and needs of all Soviet people. The multimillion-strong Soviet people are implementing the party's policy through their actions. The successes with which all republics are welcoming the present anniversary are among the most obvious confirmations of this fact (applause).

Comrades, allow me to express our deep gratitude and thanks to the millions of leading production workers who fulfilled and overfulfilled their socialist obligations in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR (lengthy applause).

Allow me on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers to greet warmly all Soviet people on the occasion of the great holiday--the birthday of our great Union (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

Long live the friendship among the peoples building communism (stormy applause).

Long live proletarian and socialist internationalism! (stormy applause.)

Long live peace the world over! (tempestuous applause.)

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continue to blossom! (stormy and tempestuous applause. All rise.)

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TO THE PARLIAMENTS, GOVERNMENTS, POLITICAL PARTIES AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 16-17

[Appeal unanimously adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Supreme Soviet at the 22 December 1982 joint ceremonious session of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] We, the representatives of all the peoples of the USSR, gathered in Moscow solemnly to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on behalf of the 270 million Soviet people, turn to the parliaments, governments, political parties and peoples on earth with the following message of peace.

That which the best minds of mankind have dreamed for centuries--the elimination of national hostility and discord, and the true equality and friendship among nations--has become reality in our country thanks to the Leninist policy of the communist party and the implementation of the socialist principles of national and social freedom and the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

The new relations among peoples and among nations within the socialist state determine Soviet foreign policy as well. Universal peace and friendship and cooperation among nations is our ideal and our permanent objective and constant concern.

The Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a new historical epoch. After rejecting social and national oppression, the working people created the land of the soviets, a state which asserted the fraternal friendship and equal relations among nations and which ensured true freedom, progress and prosperity to all nations.

Durable, reliable and stable peace is the first and most urgent requirement of all people, all nations, all mankind.

The demand for peace becomes particularly important under present circumstances, when the countries have weapons which can destroy human civilization and life itself on earth, and when the threat of war which was noticeably thrown back in the 1970s has once again begun to increase and international tension to grow tangibly.

All efforts in individual states, the activeness of governments and the organized political forces of all citizens in all countries should be directed today toward the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. No more important problem exists or could exist.

We, the full representatives of the Soviet people, solemnly proclaim that the Soviet Union, pursuing the Leninist policy of peace and international cooperation, will do everything within its power to prevent war.

We assert that in accordance with the obligation it assumed, the Soviet Union will not be the first to resort to the use of nuclear weapons. Once again we appeal to the other nuclear powers to assume a similar obligation.

We proclaim the readiness of the Soviet Union to freeze on a reciprocal basis with the United States its nuclear weapons arsenal.

We are in favor of the fast and effective completion of Soviet-American talks on limiting and reducing strategic armaments and restricting nuclear armaments in Europe and the fastest possible reaching of an agreement on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

We call for an immediate agreement on the total and universal ban on testing nuclear weapons so that no new types and varieties of such weapons can be developed any longer.

We call for banning and eliminating chemical weapons.

We appeal for the soonest possible resumption of interrupted talks on all other problems of limiting and restricting armaments.

We appeal to the legislative organs and governments of all countries in the world actively to cooperate in settling all conflicting situations and hotbeds of tension conclusively through political means.

We call for strengthening the United Nations and for upgrading its role in the consolidation of international peace and security.

For the sake of these objectives the Soviet Union is ready to cooperate with all countries in the world regardless of their political and social systems.

A great historical responsibility lies today on the shoulders of all countries in the world, a responsibility for the present and the future.

The Soviet people are convinced that by joining forces states and nations will be able to eliminate the military threat and to preserve and strengthen peace on earth and secure the human right to life. We call upon the parliaments, governments, political parties and peoples on earth to join in these efforts.

Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee

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YU. V. ANDROPOV'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY AMERICAN COLUMNIST JOSEPH KINGSBURY-SMITH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 18-19

[Text] [Question] What wishes would you like to address to the American people on the occasion of the new 1983?

[Answer] Above all I would like to greet them on the occasion of the New Year and sincerely wish every American family prosperity and happiness. This means, above all, to wish to all Americans peace, a lasting peace and well-being based on peaceful toil and fruitful cooperation with other nations. The common enemy of the Soviet and American people today is one--the threat of war and anything capable of increasing it. The Soviet Union is in favor of the preservation and consolidation of peace and is doing everything within its power to this effect, well aware of the fact that today there is no more important task in international politics than reducing the growing threat of nuclear war by controlling and terminating the nuclear arms race. We would also like for America as well to make its contribution, worthy of that great country, not toward urging on the arms race and intensifying bellicose passions but strengthening peace and friendship among the nations.

[Question] In your view, what are the most important measures which could be taken in terms of cooperation between the USSR and the United States in 1983 in the interests of peace the world over and the improvement of Soviet-American relations?

[Answer] I believe that our two countries could accomplish jointly a great deal, which would benefit both themselves and other countries and peoples. For example, they could achieve a mutual reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe, interact in the elimination of the most dangerous hotbeds of military conflicts, in the Middle East, for example, and other such moves.

Naturally, however, the most important is to achieve just and mutually acceptable agreements in the talks on restricting and limiting strategic armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, consistent with the principles of equality and identical security, and the adoption of practical steps for their implementation.

[Question] Do you believe that as a result of the continuing talks differences in the positions held by the governments of the USSR and the United States on problems of nuclear armament could be sufficiently reduced to create conditions for reaching a compromise agreement?

[Answer] Yes, naturally. Objectively, this is entirely possible, for solutions to the problems exist which do not harm the interests of either side and which lead to a radical reduction in the armaments of both sides to the great benefit of universal peace and security. Such is precisely the purpose of the specific proposals submitted by the Soviet Union, including those formulated most recently. Let us recall the essence of these proposals. It is quite simple and logical. On the matter of strategic weapons we propose that their further increase on the part of both sides be terminated immediately, i.e., that they be frozen at their present level, after which the existing arsenals could be reduced by approximately one-quarter on each side until their levels have become equalized. This could be followed by new reductions.

We have proposed various alternatives regarding nuclear weapons in Europe. This would include either no weapons whatever--whether medium-range or tactical, on the part of the USSR and the NATO countries--which I would consider the "absolute zero" level for both parties, or for both sides to reduce their medium-range armaments (missiles and aircraft armed with nuclear weapons) by more than two-thirds. In such a case no medium-range Soviet and American missiles pitted against each other would be left and the USSR would retain only the number of missiles equaling those of Britain and France. In terms of the number of airplanes as well we favor full equality on a level considerably below the current one. In a word, we would like to have in Europe not one missile or airplane more than NATO.

I would like to hope that the United States will answer such a just a constructive position with a gesture of good will on its part. This would enable us to ensure the success of the talks. I am certain that such success would turn 1983 into a good year for all mankind.

[Question] Former President Richard Nixon has called for a meeting between you and the President of the United States. What is your reaction to this?

[Answer] The Soviet leadership has always believed summit contacts to be one of the very effective means for the development of relations among countries. We have not deviated from this viewpoint. Naturally, however, good preparations are necessary if such a meeting is to be successful. In any case, we favor improvements in Soviet-American relations and the implementation of mutually profitable agreements and treaties concluded between our countries, and will welcome anything which contributes to the implementation of this task.

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YU. V. ANDROPOV'S ANSWER TO A QUESTION PUT BY THE NEWSPAPER 'RUDE PRAVO'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 p 20

[Text] The editors of RUDE PRAVO, the Czechoslovak newspaper, asked Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, his assessment of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact members, which was held in Prague.

Following is Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's answer:

"The 2-day joint proceedings were held in the spirit of the fraternal traditions which have developed among socialist countries. We compared our views on the course of international events and jointly earmarked our future line. It is a major matter, particularly at a time such as the present, which is marked by a dangerous increase in international tension.

The Soviet delegation highly values the fruitful and frank nature of the discussions. The fact that a desire for unity and increased reciprocal understanding and coordination in foreign policy actions predominated at the conference is important.

We have a sober view of the world situation. We do not conceal our concern caused by NATO's military preparations. However, despite the negative phenomena which appeared at the beginning of the 1980s, the international position of the socialist comity remains firm and reliable. I would like to emphasize this fact most definitely.

We have a sufficient amount of good will and resolve to encourage step-by-step the strengthening of European security and the improvement of the global political atmosphere. We have sufficient power to counter the military threat presented by imperialism.

The main conclusion which may be drawn from our comradely exchange of views at the conference may be defined as follows: the further strengthening of our unity and our economic and defense potential must be our answer to the hopes of the aggressive imperialist circles of restraining socialism. It would be fair to say that this is directly related to the security of our countries and the fate of the world as a whole.

As to the Soviet Union, problems of strengthening the friendship and developing the cooperation with the fraternal countries have always held and will continue to hold a special priority position in its international policy.

I use this opportunity to express on behalf of the Soviet delegation our sincere gratitude to Comrade Gustav Husak and to our Czechoslovak comrades for their warm hospitality and the conditions they provided for the work of the conference.

We present to the communists in Czechoslovakia and to all working people in your country our very best wishes for the New Year."

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IN THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM AND
USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 21-22

[Text] Having reviewed the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members (Prague, 4-5 January 1983), the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers approve the activities of the Soviet delegation headed by Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, entirely and fully.

The Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee was an event of major international significance. In accordance with established tradition, the leadership of the union of socialist states jointly analyzed the current situation in Europe and in the world at large. They defined the further coordinated actions to be taken by the fraternal countries in the struggle against the threat of war and for the preservation and intensification of detente and the development of international cooperation.

The situation in the world is characterized by considerable tension, caused by the ceaseless efforts on the part of aggressive imperialist forces, those of the United States above all, to disturb the existing strategic balance in the world and to ensure for themselves military superiority in order to subordinate the course of global events to their own will. The new round in the arms race--nuclear and conventional--they are unleashing may bring about an even more dangerous instability in the world and severely complicate the solution of the vital economic and social problems facing the individual countries and mankind as a whole.

The USSR and the united socialist countries are countering this imperialist military line with a consistently constructive course of peace, international security and detente. The chronicle of 1983 was opened by the Warsaw Pact members with a broad offensive aimed at improving the political climate on earth. In the political declaration adopted in Prague they offered a real alternative to the sliding toward nuclear catastrophe.

The new proposal submitted by the socialist countries of concluding a treaty on reciprocal nonuse of military force and maintaining relations of peace between the members of the two military-political groups--the Warsaw Pact and NATO--is of particular importance. It is important for the states to which this major peace initiative is mainly addressed to consider it most closely.

A practical possibility exists of terminating the current dangerous development of events, channeling them into a firm bed, increasing reciprocal strength and systematically resolving problems of restricting and reducing the arsenals of weapons, nuclear in particular.

Today the possibility of preventing the growth of nuclear missile weapons in Europe and the reduction or, conversely, the drastic increase in the threat hanging over the peoples on the continent and over peace as a whole, depends on the United States and its NATO allies.

The Soviet Union is doing everything within its power for the triumph of intelligence in international affairs. It will continue systematically to pursue the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence with countries belonging to the other social system, while maintaining its vigilance toward the intrigues of the enemies of socialism and peace and adopting the necessary measures to ensure the country's security.

The Political Consultative Committee conference proved that under contemporary circumstances the all-round cooperation among socialist countries, their joint struggle for common objectives in the world arena, the exchange of experience in the building of socialism and communism, and their cooperation in the fields of economics, science and technology are playing an increasing role. All of this multiplies the forces of the socialist comity as a whole and helps to resolve the constructive problems facing its members.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers deem it necessary to emphasize that the matter of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries has always held and will continue to hold a position of special priority in the international policy of the party and the Soviet state.

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THE WAY IT WAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 23-27

[Article by P. Voronova, CPSU member since 1917]

[Text] On 30 December 1922, together with the other delegates to the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, I voted for the establishment of the USSR. I remember it like yesterday although 60 years have since passed.

It was that year that our people, who had gained and defended the Soviet system, obtained a breathing spell. Happily, the harvest was more bountiful. Plants and factories began to work in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, and schools and medical establishments began to open. For the first time the people were truly able to realize, to taste the happiness of liberated labor and to trust in its power. Such were the circumstances in which the 12th Guberniya Congress of Soviets opened on 10 December 1922. I. Korotkov, guberniya party committee secretary, presented a report in which he reviewed the first 5 years of the Soviet system in our guberniya.

A great deal if not all of this was new and a first for us. Thus, for example, in 1921 our weavers had shipped to the Ukraine 367,000 arshins of fabrics. A brigade consisting of our carpenters went there to work on rebuilding the Donbass, while the people of Kiev sent us 25 railroad cars of wheat. A train of weaving equipment, consisting of 16,000 spindles and 410 weaving looms, was sent from Vichuga to Armenia.... In 1922 33 railroad cars with food and 1,400 meters of fabrics left Ivanovo-Voznesensk for the Mari Autonomous Oblast and equipment for a fabric factory was shipped to Kutaisi....

I realize, as I quote these facts, that today it is very difficult to imagine how important these figures were decades ago.... Naturally, the cooperation among Soviet republics began to strengthen during the civil war. However, economic mutual aid began to develop tangibly only after it had ended.

And so, a delegation from Ivanovo-Voznesensk, elected at the Guberniya Congress, took the road to Moscow. We traveled in a train consisting of heated goods vans, and a small passenger coach had been equipped for the delegates. The fuel situation was poor. The train could only advance from one forest to the next. The engineer would stop the train and we would fell and cut up the trees, then drag the logs to the tender. The train was small but crowded, with people traveling on steps, buffers and roofs. At many

stations the tracks were blocked by totally wrecked locomotives engines and cars. The wreckage in Aleksandrovo was particularly great. We looked at the mountains of scrap metal, asking ourselves when to clear all of this and thinking of how much work remained to be done!

Today trains travel from Ivanovo to Moscow in a few hours. At that time it took us 3 days.... I can recall my entire past. My parents worked at Garelin's Textile Factory. I was not even 15 when my mother, Varvara Agapovna Karpova, took me to the factory. There were others even younger than myself, 10 years old even. It was still dark when we went to work--the shift began at 6 am and ended at 6 pm--and we could see crowds of sullen, beaten people. There were sighs, coughing and the crying of children who were being pulled to the looms in sleighs. The shops were dusty, noisy and semidark. The kerosene lanterns emitted more smoke than light. Naturally, many people died of exhaustion and disease.... That was why the weavers struck, asking for higher wages, a shorter work day and improved working conditions....

I recall attending meetings in Talok, where for the first time I heard words such as "soviets" and "bolsheviks." They were spoken by comrades "Father," "Arseniy" and others. These were the aliases of F. Afanas'yev and M. Frunze. It was also there that I heard of "Bodriy." I remember my amazement learning that he turned out to be Platon Voronov, an old acquaintance of mine. We became friends and later, in 1911, were married. We had two sons but this did not stop us. We organized strikes and meetings and printed and distributed pamphlets and proclamations....

In 1913 Platon was arrested and exiled to Olonets Guberniya. I followed him with our sons. We lived in a remote village but even there we continued with our revolutionary activities: we argued with exiled mensheviks and explained the bolshevik positions to the population. At the outbreak of World War I Platon made an antiwar speech to the recruits. He was detained and exiled to Irkutsk Guberniya for life. Trouble never comes alone: our younger son died and the elder fell ill. I took him to Petrograd where I hired out as a housemaid. I had a good job--a place to stay, food and 5 rubles per month. However, this life was not to my liking, for I had been contaminated by the spirit of freedom and worker brotherhood. I returned home in the autumn of 1915, and met with old friends and bolsheviks who gave me great support. The working people had become aware of their power. One year later there was a virtually uninterrupted stream of strikes and meetings. For every one detained there were dozens who took his place.

My most memorable year was 1917. The moment the news of the February Revolution reached us I was instructed to tour the worker districts and rally everyone for a meeting. Just about the entire Ivanovo Voznesensk population marched in grandiose procession which ended in a meeting. My party membership was officially processed in March, although I had long been considered a bolshevik and had carried out party assignments....

The scope of our party work intensified after Lenin returned from exile. In his very first speech he proved that the Russian revolution would inevitably

become international. As PRAVDA wrote then, Vladimir Il'ich "greeted the revolutionary Russian proletariat and revolutionary Russian army, who were able not only to liberate Russia from czarist despotism but also to lay the beginning of a social revolution on an international scale, pointing out that the proletariat the world over was looking hopefully at the daring steps of the Russian proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 31, p 98). In his famous April theses Lenin answered the question of what we, the bolsheviks, the revolutionary proletariat, will do in the future.

In the spring of that same year my husband Platon returned from exile. He was elected city party committee secretary. I was assigned to work among the women and to make preparations for and organize a constituent congress of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Textile Workers Trade Union.

The October coup d'etat took place in Ivanovo-Voznesensk without bloodshed. Particularly successful were the bolsheviks in Shuya where, under Frunze's guidance, they seized the majority in the soviet of workers' deputies. As Frunze himself recalled, "One and a half to 2 months before the October coup actual dictatorship of the proletariat had already been established throughout the Ivanovo-Voznesensk area."

Virtually all men were sent to the front after the beginning of the intervention. I was elected secretary of the factory party organization and subsequently was assigned to work with the women's section of the guberniya party committee. At that time we concentrated all our efforts on work among the women who were bearing the main burden in the rear. I was greatly helped in this work by O. A. Varentsova, party member since 1893, under whose guidance we were laying the foundations, principles and methods of party work among women. At that time this was related to nothing but the vital tasks of the day--we organized hospitals, maternity homes and shelters for homeless children and waifs and hospitals for the wounded. We sewed uniforms for Red Army troops.... It was during that period that I gave birth to my daughter Nina. My son Kolya was already 7 years old but I was always on the road. We held meetings at the guberniya party committee and in factories, and we formed subunits which we sent to the countryside not only to confiscate grain from the kulaks but also to establish collective farming associations and to help the peasants in sowing and harvesting their crops.

My Platon left for the front on 16 April 1919. He fought on the Don and the Kuban and died at Novocherkassk in July 1920.... Many were the victims in the rear: people died of typhoid fever and hunger and fell under kulak and bandit bullets....

Finally, our train reached the Yaroslavskiy railroad station. We were housed in a hostel of the Third House of the Soviets, on Sadovoye Kol'tso. The hostel housed delegates from all parts of the country as well. Although the congress was initially scheduled to be all-Russian, it was attended by delegates from the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Transcaucasus, not as guests but as full participants. In this sense, from the very beginning, it was an all-union congress and its work actually began at the hostel itself.

Initially we were hindered by the language barrier. Not all representatives of national outlying areas knew Russian while we knew no other language. However, first with gestures and smiles and, subsequently, with the help of those who spoke a national language in addition to Russian, we began to communicate quite well. The following interesting event took place in the hostel even before the congress opened.

"Frunze is one of us, from Shuya," someone said.

"Yes, yes," the Kirghiz noted. "However, he was born in Pishpek so that he is one of ours...."

"He is not only yours," the Belorussians objected. "Frunze organized the militia in Minsk...."

"But where did he come from?" a Ukrainian asked. "He came from Kharkov! Therefore, he is one of ours...."

In the same way Frunze was considered one of their own by the delegates from Alma-Ata, where he had graduated from secondary school, and Petrograd, where he had attended the Polytechnical Institute; he was considered a person from Uzbekistan and Turkmenia where he had fought the basmachs, and the Crimea where, under his leadership, the Vrangeli forces had been thrown back into the sea. In a word, Frunze was the living embodiment of our proletarian internationalism.

Mikhail Vasil'yevich met with us, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk people. He also talked with V. Kretov, the Shuyskiy Uyezd party committee secretary. It was in Shuya that Frunze had developed as a true leader of the proletarian masses. It was precisely thanks to such bolsheviks-Leninists and true internationalists that the party had been able to develop a unification movement leading to the creation of a single union of Soviet republics.

The Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets will be remembered for the atmosphere of general upsurge which prevailed throughout the congress, from 23 to 27 December. From the hostel, which was located on the Bozhedomskiy Lane on Sadovoye Kol'tso, we marched down Karetnaya and Petrovka with our flags and banners, singing and dancing. Naturally, I am not implying that we were in a state of unrestrained enthusiasm, for I am not. Very important problems related to the fate of the first free and united state in history were being resolved at the congress.

In his speech "Sixty Years of USSR," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, frankly stated that "that which seems obvious today was far from obvious during those stormy transitional times. The search for specific governmental forms and political institutions needed to give body to general ideas and to formulate a national program took place in the course of heated arguments." To omit or downgrade this means to oversimplify, to present the situation as having been easy. The outlines of the new state were delineated in the course of most profound considerations, doubts and fierce arguments on matters of principle.

M. Kalinin, M. Frunze and other loyal supporters of the leader presented the Leninist viewpoint with exceptional clarity and persuasiveness. Unfortunately, Vladimir Il'ich himself did not attend the meetings. He was feeling poorly and the physicians had forbidden him to participate in the work of the congress. However, naturally, his thoughts were with us. As early as 1919 Lenin had written that "we want a voluntary union of nations.... The type of union which would be based on total trust, clear awareness of fraternal unity and totally voluntary agreement" (op. cit., vol 40, p 43).

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets was held 2 days after the All-Russian Congress. In his address to the delegates, M. Kalinin said that "... What is taking place today, in relatively modest circumstances, is an event of world-wide importance.... To begin with, this unification congress will enable us to increase our material resources to counter a bourgeois world hostile to us. Secondly, the political unification of Soviet republics strengthens the real importance of Soviet republics in the eyes of the entire bourgeois world tremendously. Finally, it is here that we are laying the cornerstone of a truly fraternal community."

As I listened to these words, my thoughts strayed to our hostel on Bozhedomskiy Lane. Incidentally, I was very pleased to see it renamed Delegatskaya Street. Naturally, I was not so naive as to imagine at that time that relations among nations and nationalities in our country were all that idyllic. Nevertheless, today they are largely exactly the way they were at the time of this congress of soviets--most warm, sympathetic and sincere....

It was precisely this friendship among peoples, which was codified governmentally in December 1922 and subsequently in the 1924 USSR Constitution, that helped us to accomplish the industrialization of the country, agricultural collectivization and the cultural revolution, and to build the type of socialist fortress which was able not only to withstand the blows of fascism but to rout the Hitlerite military machine, to liberate the peoples of Europe and to offer to many of them the possibility of taking the path of socialism.

It would be difficult to overestimate the contribution of the Ivanovo people to the development of the textile industry in the outlying areas of the country. In 1923 the Ivanovo Textile Association repaired and retooled the cotton-ginning mills in Andizhan and the Syrdarya station. During the 1924-25 economic year, with the help of the people of Ivanovo, the textile factory in Leninakan (Armenian SSR) produced more than 92,000 meters of coarse calico.

... In March 1926 a delegation of Ivanovo-Voznesensk women participated in a congress of Azerbaijani women workers and peasants. The Ivanovo weavers visited the factories and greatly helped in the dissemination of progressive experience.

By the turn of the 1930s, as secretary of the Central Committee of the Textile Workers Trade Union and head of the women's sector of the VKP(b) Central Committee, I was able to see on numerous occasions the way patriotism and internationalism, which had been elevated to the rank of Soviet governmental policy, had become effective forces in the development of our society.

I visited Germany in 1927 as a member of the first worker delegation from our country on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet system. The communists and the workers in that country welcomed us warmly, from the heart. I recall meetings and talks with Ernst Thalmann and Wilhelm Pieck. The Leninist policy of strengthening fraternity and solidarity among nations was being implemented during those difficult years as well.

I was appointed deputy people's commissar of USSR light industry in 1932; 2 years later I became chief of the Main Administration for the Silk Industry, which was poorly developed in our country at that time. I was sent to Japan to study silk weaving and to purchase silk-weaving looms. I was successful in carrying out this assignment. The silk industry was not only rebuilt but moved ahead, particularly in the Central Asian republics, which I visited a number of times, having visited Fergana and Margilan as early as 1924. Many of our Ivanovo boys and girls worked there and have continued to work there to this day! Many of them settled and raised families there. Now I read in the press that Uzbekistan is sponsoring the Nonchernozem and is helping to reclaim land in Ivanovo, Vladimir and Novgorod oblasts.... This is what internationalism in action means.

After attending the ceremonies in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, my memory once again turns back to 30 December 1922. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov states quite accurately in his report that "the distance covered by the Soviet Union in 60 years is the equivalent of an entire age." On behalf of those who voted for the founding of the USSR 6 decades ago, on behalf of all the old communists, I would like to say that the tremendous successes achieved by our homeland became possible thanks to the tireless activities of our communist party, which is steadfastly and consistently implementing the great Lenin's behests.

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A FIXTURE OF OUR LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 27-31

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor E. Paap, brigade leader at the Estoniya Mine, Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee member and Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy]

[Text] It seems to me that unification and friendship are the only sensible forms of relations among peoples of different nations. The citizens of the USSR--a country in which socialist internationalism has become part of daily life firmly and for all times, have realized this through personal experience. That is why all attempts on the part of our ideological foes to "contaminate" us with the disease of hostility among nations, which is chronic in any exploiting society, are doomed to failure. The socialist society has neither a socioeconomic nor any other base for national hostility. Individual manifestations of nationalism displayed by some people may, in my view, be considered no more than a slumbering vestige of the past.

I was born in a village in the southern part of Estonia and became imbued with the spirit of friendship among the peoples in childhood. People of different nationalities inhabit our areas and get along perfectly with one another. When the time came to do my military service in the Soviet army, I became a member of a large, well-organized international collective. Incidentally, I served in Leningrad Oblast and was the only Estonian in my unit.

When I passed into the reserve I was tempted by the romanticism of mining and joined, once again, a multinational collective.

It is said that a drop of water is a reflection of the ocean. In this term, how to consider the interrelationship among people of different nationalities in the collective of our Estoniya Mine, where members of more than 20 nationalities work? No difficulties in interrelationships exist here. Instead, we enjoy the firm friendship of like-minded people, strengthened by the awareness of our membership in a single collective, whether a mine or brigade. We are also united by the all-Soviet pride shared by all my compatriots, and a feeling of professional comity. Mining is hard and occasionally even dangerous work, but it offers something which makes us go down into the mine again and again. It may be a feeling familiar to anyone who loves his work. Work and the attitude toward it are the main yardstick with which we approach and characterize a person.

The fact that our collective was awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner and the titles of Communist Labor Collective and High Production Standard Enterprise convincingly proves the attitude which our multinational collective has toward labor. People belonging to all nationalities represented in the mine are leading production workers. Among the Estonians I could name Eno Kons and Alla Peet, respectively heads of drilling and clearing workers brigades. Both are order bearers and honored miners of the Estonian SSR and honored miners of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry. Let me also mention Mikhail Balychenko, head of a clearing miners' brigade, who comes from a cossack village and who has become a deserving and honored miner in a city of Estonian shale miners. One of the best in the mine is the Belorussian Gennadiy Gribovskiy, chief of the fifth sector and bearer of the Order of the Labor Red Banner. The miners are also proud of the conveyor belt operator, the Ukrainian Zoya Vyazovchenko, the Azerbaijani Gidayat Isayev, a propping worker, the Moldavian Nikolay Vasil'yev and the Lett Aleksandr Bernans, both electricians, and the Tatar Flyur Mukhametzyanov, a mine foreman.

There are Finns, Georgians, Armenians, Udmurts, Buryats and even Turks and Koreans working the mine. They all have their own languages and national customs. They all love and willingly perform their songs, dances and games, and gather on holidays at the Oktyabr' Palace of Culture or in a smaller circle of friends. Every member of the multinational brigade feels an equal in the family of Soviet peoples at work and at rest.

Our language? Had every one of us been familiar with 20 languages we would have addressed in Greek Yevgeniy Boyenko, the chief engineer at the concentration factory, who is of Greek origin; would have spoken German with Artur Khofman, party organization secretary at the machine workshops, Bashkir with the mechanic Rafiz Sharipov, Polish with fitter Vladimir Azarevich, Estonian with mine director Vyayno Viylup, and so on. Actually, we address one another essentially in Russian. This is merely one of the numerous examples which illustrate the great role of the Russian language, which has become the language of international communication in our country.

Many non-Estonians have mastered our language freely, and most of them understand it well. In my new brigade, which is also international, for example, I was welcomed by a Russian who greeted me in pure Estonian. Nationality or language present no problem. Should someone initially have some difficulty related to ignorance of the language, he is invariably helped by his fellow workers. No misunderstandings occur in the brigade or at the enterprise for this reason. The determining fact in hiring someone is his practical qualities. No one is interested in your nationality when giving you one production assignment or another. People of any nationality may become managers, directing people of different nationalities. Such is the logic of our life. No one is astounded by the fact that I, an Estonian, have sent my child to a school in which everything is taught in Russian, while miner Nikolay Abramov has sent his child to a school where everything is taught in Estonian.

Our friendships have become so natural that we sometimes forget the fact that these people came to Estonia only with the advent of the Soviet system and

that it was precisely after its advent that the tempestuous development of the shale industry began.

Let us recall what the Estonian shale basin was until 1940. The owners of the mines and shale-processing plants were local capitalists. However, British, German, Swedish, Danish and even Italian companies stretched their clutches in pursuit of profit. Capitalists from different countries cooperated with each other, which brought no happiness to the Estonian miners. They were left with the hard manual labor and constant fear of what the future would bring. For example, after the Kukruza Mine was closed down in 1934 several hundred people became unemployed. However, even those who had remained at work faced hard times. During the crisis earnings were insufficient even to buy food. In Kiviylü, where the enterprises of one of the largest stockholding companies were located, miners and factory workers lived in huts, for which reason less than half of the workers were married.

After the Soviet system was established in Estonia, in the summer of 1940, an extensive program for the development of the shale industry was earmarked and its implementation was undertaken. This involved the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises and the building of new ones. The development of the Kyava-2 Mine was undertaken. However, the invasion of our country by the fascist hordes interrupted our constructive toil. Afterwards, when the occupation forces were about to leave our land under the strikes of the Soviet army, they decided to destroy the shale industry totally by flooding the mines.

No one can break the power of the international friendship among Soviet nations. Having played a decisive role in the defeat of the fascist aggressors, it manifested itself once again during the postwar restoration period. Immediately following the liberation of the Estonian SSR, the fraternal republics extended to it their helping hand. Thanks to this, the prewar shale extraction level was reached as early as 1946. Specialists from other parts of the country came to us and deliveries of modern mining equipment increased. It was thus that the first mechanized conveyor belt transporter systems several hundred meters long appeared. Naturally, there is no comparison between those and today's almost 3-kilometer-long conveyors. At that time, however, this represented a major technical achievement.

The chamber shale extraction system, still used at most mines, was initiated in 1957. The UP-3 loading machine brought about a major upturn in the work of the tunneling workers, delivering them forever from the use of shovels. It would be impossible to enumerate all the innovations which facilitated the work of the miners. A particularly large number of them have made their appearance of late. Thus, the IGS-68S combine, the powerful EVG-35/65M excavators and 40-ton dump trucks came to us during the 10th Five-Year Plan.

This five-year plan the Estonslanets Association has been assigned to continue the comprehensive mechanization of production processes. Drilling and blasting operations which, despite safety measures, remain difficult and dangerous, will be eliminated. All shale extraction will be converted from the chamber to the combine system. Until now the combine could develop only

the lower shale seam, for the flagstone separating two seams was too hard for it to handle. Currently, there is great hope in an advanced, more powerful combine which is being tested at the Tammiku Mine.

Our Estoniya Mine, like the Narvskiy and Oktyabr'skiy strip mines, is the offspring of the 9th Five-Year Plan, one of the youngest enterprises in the association. When it reached its planned capacity (5 million tons of marketable shale per year) in 1975 we were congratulated by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Today, with no increase in the planned number of workers, we have reached the 6-million-ton level. For comparison's sake let me say that in 20 years of bourgeois rule in Estonia no more than 11 million tons of shale were extracted. Compared with 1940 the output has increased by a factor of 16, while the share of mechanized extraction increased from 0 to 96 percent.

As a representative of the Estoniya Mine, I am pleased to point out that we are outstripping the other mines in growth rates of labor productivity. During the socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the monthly volume of output per worker reached 250 tons. This is the best indicator reached within the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry. All 16 face brigades extract more than 1,000 tons of shale per shift, while 10 brigades have reached the annual level of 500,000 tons. The drilling brigades, one-half of which apply the speed method, also welcomed the anniversary of our union with good labor results. Many primary enterprise collectives earned prizes in the all-union and intra-basin socialist competitions. During this five-year plan our mine has already won the Red Challenge Banner of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry and the Central Committee of the Coal Industry Workers Trade Union on six occasions, while the Estonslanets Association has won it eight times. Furthermore, for 6 consecutive years it has been awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee, and its name has been inscribed in the all-union honor board of the USSR Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy.

These figures and facts give an idea of the striking changes which have taken place in the life and work of Estonian miners. They are based on the selfless aid of the fraternal peoples, which we feel every day. Our mine receives materials, equipment and machinery from hundreds of places in different republics, ranging from rolled metal pieces from Leningrad to trucks produced in Brezhnev and Minsk cities. Today mining is inconceivable without machinery coming from Chelyabinsk, Perm and Sverdlov oblasts, without flexible mine cable produced in Armenia, or Ukrainian concentration and Lithuanian hydraulic equipment. Electric power is the most important product manufactured with the direct participation of the miners and delivered to other republics. Thus, power consumption giants such as the Baltic and Estonian GRES consume large quantities of shale. However, it is shipped out raw as well. The enterprises of the Leningradslanets Association, in Slantsy, process not only locally produced but our raw materials as well.

A great variety of types of cooperation has been established between the Estonslanets Production Association and other enterprises. Its collective is competing with miners in Slantsy and machine builders in Mytishchi. Business

relations have been established with the Leningrad Mining Institute imeni G. V. Plekhanov in order to promote environmental protection. They are engaged in the joint solution of problems related to evening up exhausted trips and treating mine waters. The institute will also help us to apply afforestation technology and to restore for farming the exhausted strip mine sites.

Friendship among the peoples and an internationalist attitude toward life are manifested in all matters. Thus, our mine's practical experience was described in the Lithuanian and Kazakh presses and in other republics. We welcome colleagues from the fraternal socialist countries and shared experience.

The ocean consists of drops but it would be hard to run across something greater than an ocean with its full might. Our proletarian and socialist internationalism--an inseparable feature of Soviet reality--possesses the same type of invincible strength.

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MAN ON EARTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 31-37

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor N. Aliyev, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Shaumyan, Azerbaijan SSR]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was created 62 years ago and 60 years have passed since it joined the fraternal union of peoples of the land of the soviets--the USSR. The way of life and social and spiritual aspects of the Azerbaijani peasantry have changed unrecognizably. Today, allied with the working class and the toiling intelligentsia, it has become a shock detachment of builders of communism. Compared with the prerevolutionary level, the republic's agricultural output has increased by a factor of almost 9. This success is the result of the Leninist cooperative plan. The victory of the kolkhoz system marked the establishment of socialism in the Azerbaijani countryside.

Our kolkhoz is a good example of the tremendous constructive toil of the Azerbaijani peasantry. Established in 1930, today it is a highly mechanized multisectorial farm in which an intensive process of industrialization of farm labor is under way. It is a small kolkhoz with 6,395 hectares of farming land, 3,665 of which are arable. All the land is planted in valuable grain and cotton crops. This land yields an annual income in excess of 6 million rubles. Net income last year, a bad one, totaled 3,612,000 rubles. We have reached an average of 55.2 quintals of grain and 65.1 quintals of cotton per hectare. Such figures are considered high even under our circumstances.

Unquestionably, the soil and climate conditions prevailing in Lenkoran, which is not far from our kolkhoz, are favorable for agricultural production. However, where is it written that everything can be grown by itself, without man's participation? Naturally, the land is the treasury but the key to its riches is complex human toil. I am in my 80s and have been kolkhoz chairman for 30 of them. To the best of my recollection, I have never noticed an easy year in farming. Everything is created with human hands and everything depends on the people.

Our fathers and grandfathers and our white-haired elders have always said that "talent in the people is like stars in the skies. One should be able to locate them. Give them scope and they will make miracles, they will do the impossible." The land responds to those who work it. The main factor here

is man and it is on man that we essentially rely. Before the revolution social conditions in Azerbaijan were quite poor. For centuries virtually everything was taken away from the peasant, who received nothing in return. Many people lost faith in any sort of justice. This barrier of mistrust had to be eliminated. This had to be done steadily and tactfully, in order not to hurt man's pride and soul. Concern had to be shown along with sympathy and justice. Personal example, discipline and precision had to be shown. Promises had to be kept, for it is easy to lie to someone but more difficult to make him trustful. However, it is at that point that man brings up his best qualities and the richness of his soul. At that point he will work not only with his hands but with his heart.

Exceptionally relevant in this connection is the thought which Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, expressed in his speech at the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum, to the effect that success in resolving problems is possible only when every worker, every working person in our enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses becomes involved. Actually, a kolkhoz chairman would be unsuccessful despite his best efforts without the active support of the collective, without collective toil tested by the mind and the heart. That is why relying on the collective is the cornerstone, to which we must add meeting the needs of the individual and creating optimal working, living and resting conditions.

It was on this basis that we undertook the comprehensive reorganization of the village. The kolkhoz territory includes five settlements, slightly over 400 farmsteads with 815 working people. A substantial share of the livestock breeders and mechanizers are city people who commute daily from Neftechala. This new phenomenon has become firmly established, for our working conditions are as good as those in the city: two 8-hour shifts (naturally, with the exception of the spring sowing and autumn harvesting campaigns) each brigade has field settlements with showers, color television and the famous Azerbaijani lyulya-kebab. All homes, field stations and offices without exception have natural gas. A very beautiful palace of culture, with a 400-seat theater hall and a library containing more than 10,000 books in Azerbaijani and Russian, stands on the central farmstead. Here we also find an urban-type public bath, a service house, a 50-bed hospital and a general store. Booths have been opened in the villages serving excellent Azerbaijani tea at all times. We have two kindergartens and four schools, two of which are secondary. We are currently building a fifth school. The rejuvenation of the village is obvious and the large number of children means that the people are sinking deep roots and settling down permanently.

Incidentally, we sometimes underestimate the continuity of peasant traditions, although they are precisely the source of a warm attitude toward the land. Developing love for the mother earth begins at school. Schoolchildren are well familiar with kolkhoz life. Schools are frequently visited by specialists and noted people. That is probably why virtually all young people will settle in their native villages. Eventually they get married, and the keys to their homes are presented to them ceremoniously. We have solved entirely the problem of comfortable housing. To build a home means also to build a way of life, to create a family. Earnings are high. The average monthly

wage is 264 rubles, ranging from 300 to 350 for animal husbandrymen and from 400 to 500 for mechanizers. Decent pensions are paid to the elderly. Everyone enjoys paid leave. The kolkhoz members, relieved from exhausting toil, have been given the necessary time for spiritual development. Good roads lead to all of our fields, which can be reached at all times. We laid these roads ourselves.

However, a collective is not bound by material and social conditions alone. We ascribe great importance to the moral factors, to the creation of the kind of moral atmosphere which makes a person creative. The process of shaping a collective is quite complex. It involves changes in mentality, a reassessment of what was done before and how, and the need to plant into the hearts of people a grain of creative restlessness, to awaken their interest in everything taking place in the brigade, the kolkhoz, the republic and the country, an interest in what is now and what will come later. I remember the words of a song: "Labor days are our holidays!" We must act in such a way that the people go to work as though to a celebration. This is our sacred task, the task of party members and managers, the task of all of us. In my view, this is the way people will work under communism.

In turn, we try to make any event in rural life noted. We celebrate anniversaries, birthdays and marriages as a united kolkhoz family. The people wear their best clothes on the first day of the cotton harvest. The most noted and honored people in the kolkhoz are the ones who make the first farrow and sow the first seeds of wheat and cotton.

We also remember the dead. While we honor their memory, we are concerned above all with the living. To forget one's predecessors means to consider that anything past does not matter. However, if your relatives are buried in your native land that means that their roots are in it. In the center of the kolkhoz we have erected a memorial with an eternal flame commemorating our fellow villagers who died in the civil and Great Patriotic wars, for virtually every family has someone who failed to return from the battlefield. We remember the long years of the war and its mercilessness. My great friend and fellow front-line comrade, former tractor driver and honored kolkhoz member (Hero of the Soviet Union) Agashirin Agamamer Ogly Dzhaifarov, has asked everyone, the youth in particular, to do everything possible and to work in such a way that the terrible times experienced by the Soviet people during the dark days of the enemy invasion are never repeated. Allow me to express the general view of our kolkhoz members, for they frequently mention this. The peasant will not become accustomed to privation. Today we live well but we are ready to dedicate everything to the power of our homeland and to strengthening its defense capability. Let the various types of "hawks" not nurture any hopes that they will strangle us economically. This we shall not allow!

It is our sacred duty to work as our party and Soviet government demand, to increase the wealth of the country and to share our experience in order to reach our objective as quickly as possible. Our fraternal peoples have a great deal of experience. We are ready to share with them our own, to borrow from them and to learn something from others.

The elders say that "there is no poor land, there are poor plowmen and sowers." We cherish every single bit of land. That is why we try to preserve the strength and fertility of the soil. What does a modern field represent? It is a laboratory, and like any real laboratory it faces an entire set of problems. Let us consider a plant: just like people, it needs clean air, clean water and tasty food. It is not merely a question of applying fertilizer. One must know what kind, how much and when to use them. A good treatment of the land yields good crops. The land cannot be tricked. The thorough preparation of the soil is the main prerequisite for success. One must know the way the earth "breathes." One must see its "scientific portrait," i.e., draw up a chart in order to manage the land knowledgeably, with the help of the latest scientific achievements. We apply high labor standards in our fields. I recall how difficult it was in the past even to reach them. Today the fields resemble tablecloths, with their even squares, suitable even for irrigation and high-standard farming.

All of this has been the result of a thoroughly planned organization of the work, for 99 percent of all success depends on whether the people are in the right places. Long before sowing or harvesting, everyone knows the sectors where crops will be planted or harvested, and the amount of time allocated for each operation. All of this is drafted by specialists under the strict control of chief agronomer Akhmedagi Agayev. The party organization and the kolkhoz board have developed a situation in which every specialist or middle-unit manager has become the true master "on his floor" and is fully responsible for his work. Parallelism and duplication have disappeared. Today interrelationships are based on total reciprocal trust and personal responsibility. The turnover among specialists and middle-level managers has come to an end. A great deal, if not all, depends on this.

Naturally, some specialists do leave us but only for reasons of promotion. Thus, for example, Abbasaga Agayev, laureate of the USSR State Prize, head of a cotton-growing brigade, was promoted to chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Yu. Kasumov in 1981. Under his management, in 2 years a backward farm has become front-ranking. One year ago, agronomist Abdulla Ismailov became chairman of the 1 May Kolkhoz with which we are now competing. Our specialist Malik Aliyev was appointed head of Sel'khoztekhnika in Neftechalinskiy Rayon. Takhir Makhmudov has become the chief veterinarian of the rayon agricultural administration. The people grow and others come to replace them. This is the eternal cycle of life. To live means to work. Our kolkhoz has many outstanding working people, true masters of the land. I am convinced that the true master of the land is not the one who merely farms it but who is fully responsible for the results of the work, for the crop. The cost-effectiveness principle in our kolkhoz is built on this premise. If one works well his earnings will be high and his bonus at the end of the year will be substantial.

We value the working person higher than anything else and it is in the course of the work that he shows his best qualities. As our great compatriot the poet Nizami accurately said, "The working man is always wise and splendid." To work well means to live well and beautifully. In the village the people's life is known to all. Nothing can be concocted or concealed, no one can hide

behind a comrade's back. Our people are open and good. They are ready for anything for the sake of the common cause. They once again proved their true heroism in the spring, summer and autumn of 1982.

Life is steadily testing us, the farm workers. However, it is difficult even to imagine what happened to us in 1982. In September and the first half of October, during the most crucial period of the cotton, grape, potato, fruit and feed crop harvest, torrential rain poured on the republic, affecting mainly our southern rayons. Instead of snow as usual, the rain poured. The central television showed at that time some of the difficulties we were experiencing. Almost 80,000 hectares of land in crops were flooded. More than 200,000 tons of grapes perished and hundreds of homes were underwater. It was as though the elements were deliberately testing even more strictly the attachment of the people to their land. Do you think that the people gave first priority to saving their homes? No, all of them immediately went to the fields to save the crops. Our famous Almas Aliyeva, head of a cotton-growing brigade, picked the cotton manually, up to her knees in water, together with her fellow workers. They rescued the entire crop. This was an exploit. Cotton grower Aliya Mamedova, who was awarded the Order of Lenin, and irrigation worker Shukyufa Aliyeva, who was awarded the Order of the October Revolution, worked in the fields virtually around the clock. I have named women although our men worked with equal dedication. For example, together with his comrades, Nasib Suleymanov, bearer of the Orders of Lenin and the October Revolution, head of a cotton-growing brigade, managed despite such difficult conditions to harvest virtually the entire cotton crop with combines. Such manly work is customary and normal. However, the dedicated work of previously forgotten and neglected Azerbaijani women is touching. It is accurately said that the character of our women is like fire under the ashes. It may not blind you but it warms you strongly and evenly and, if necessary, may burst out in bright flames. These were the people referred to at the October 1982 CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee Plenum, at which it was said that the exploit is not merely to become a hero but, above all, to be able to remain a hero always. We were helped by all fraternal union republics and had the steady support of the CPSU Central Committee. The entire membership of the rayon party committee spread around the farms. Vilayat Seidov, first raykom secretary, literally spent his days and nights around the farms, including ours, giving us efficient, specific aid.

This convinced everyone that there is nothing that a united cohesive collective, cannot accomplish. We held firm. Taking into consideration the natural disaster, we were issued a lower plan compared with 1981. Thus, whereas we harvested 4,950 tons of grain in 1981, the 1982 plan called for 3,234 tons. The respective figures for cotton were 9,011 tons for 1981 and 4,800 tons for 1982. However, we overfulfilled these reduced plans: our grain crop totaled 5,234 tons and we harvested 8,018 tons of cotton! Incidentally, this is one-fifth of the rayon's crop, although our area in cotton accounts for no more than 13 percent of the total area in cotton in the rayon. The plan called for a production of 3,200 kilograms of milk per cow for the year, whereas the actual production was 3,450 kilograms. The entire republic overfulfilled its agricultural plan and socialist obligations. For example, we sold the state 1,721,000 tons of grapes, by far overfulfilling

the state plan. In general, the plan was fulfilled for virtually all indicators ahead of schedule, by 1 December. Based on the comprehensive plan for economic development through 1990, our kolkhoz has already reached the level of the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. That is the way we are implementing the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Food Program. Bearing in mind that both economically and politically the Food Program is the main problem of this decade, the kolkhoz's collective decided to raise the pace at which it is increasing its volume of output and sales to the state of crop and animal husbandry production, grain, cotton, vegetables, milk and meat above all.

On six separate occasions the kolkhoz has been awarded the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee Red Challenge Banner and has had its name placed on the all-union honor board of the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy. During the year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR our collective was awarded this high and honorable reward the seventh time as the winner of the all-union competition among the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We are proud of the fact that we will now keep this Red Challenge Banner permanently.

All of our high accomplishments have been the result of farming intensification. Production costs per 1 quintal of cotton average 32.6 rubles and the net income is 52 rubles. Labor outlays per quintal of cotton in our farm average 9.8 man/hours, which is better than the republic and even the union indicators. This year our overall farm profitability reached 88.4 percent. How were these results achieved?

The general interest in economy, work quality and economic analysis along the entire technological chain increased substantially after the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. All of us have begun to gain a better understanding of our role in the common project and to listen to the voice of the economy and the logic of precise computations so that, with the help of scientific principles, all indicators can be upgraded tangibly and sharply. We have long reached the conclusion that however perfect a system of accounting, work organization, planning or management may be, the main criterion of its merits lies in the end result. The economic maturity of our specialists and their initiative and ability to compute are what predetermine success. Judge for yourselves: Sel'khoztekhnika charges the kolkhoz 100 rubles for 15 minutes' worth of welding, whereas a skilled welder will work a full day tens of times cheaper. I remember that in 1981 we needed a grader for our road work. Sel'khoztekhnika asked for 8,000 rubles per day. We refused and repaired the old one at a total cost of 80 rubles.

Generally speaking, when the equipment was transferred to the kolkhoz in the 1970s, its headlong ascent toward its current economic level began. We have 30 trucks and their output is dozens of times higher than the average rayon figure. For example, leased trucks make two or three trips per shift, hauling grain, charging us 50 to 55 rubles each. Our drivers make 8 to 10 trips for 5-6 rubles. Compare productivity and production costs. The kolkhoz has 70 different tractors, an excavator, 41 cotton-harvesting combines, 13 grain combines and more than 200 different types of farming

machines and mechanisms. However, this is not to say that we are generous in our equipment purchases. On the contrary, our annual allocations for such purposes are steadily declining. However, we write off the equipment a lot less frequently. Its service life by far exceeds the planned figures. All the equipment is stored under sheds and in garages. No driver will leave his truck outside his house. We do the repairs ourselves. Naturally, we are forced to do so, although any specialized workshop or enterprise would repair it both faster and better. However, this must be organized on a sensible basis. Huge funds should not be extracted for a "ruble's worth" of work.

I realize that this is an important governmental problem. Unfortunately, however, bearing in mind the existing circumstances, we are forced to develop "our own" equipment. It is time to change the existing "tradition." We place great faith in the creation of agroindustrial associations. The main thing, however, is for their style of economic management to be focused on end results, on benefits for all. We make use of all resources. For example, water is needed to irrigate the cotton fields. Wherever there is water there should be fish. One hectare of water yields up to 50 quintals of fish. That is how we developed one more sector. The fish provides a substantial addition to the general income and fully meets the needs not only of the kolkhoz but a considerable part of the rayon.

In a word, success is the result of the intensive searching on the part of the party organization, the kolkhoz management, the specialists and our fellow workers.

... The view of a field is unique and beautiful at all times. However, when we see the grandiose new combines swimming in the midst of the white cotton, our hearts burst with joy and the awareness of our involvement in a great cause. Our entire multinational republic of Azerbaijan--with a population which includes almost 100 nations and nationalities--will meet in full the great assignments which the 26th CPSU Congress, the May and November 1982 Central Committee plenums and the Food Program have issued the rural working people.

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CALL OF THE HEART

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 37-43

[Article by Khamid Gulyam, people's writer of Uzbekistan, laureate of the USSR State Prize, Tashkent, December 1982]

[Text] Wherever I go--Chelyabinsk or Delhi, Novgorod or Djakarta, Bamako or Dakar, or whoever I may happen to meet there--irrigation worker, writer, journalist or state leader--discovering that I come from Uzbekistan, they all unfailingly show an interest in the Golodnaya Steppe--this "miracle of the 20th century."

I know that there are no miracles, but this captivating word--"miracle"--has acquired a new meaning in the language of our contemporaries, the working people, and particularly the masters of the pen, and has become truly man-made: a miracle is the result of human toil and the embodiment of the dreams of the nation, its mind and its genius.

I recall a variety of meetings. On one occasion, visiting Furmanovskiy Rayon, Ivanovo Oblast, I had the opportunity to see the building of the Uzbekistan Sovkhoz. The summer that year was droughty. It was the end of June but the fields were already yellowing--burned-up grass and gray, withered, leafy potatoes. It was against that depressing background that I suddenly saw a huge green area: thick grass chest-high, and rich golden wheat....

A miracle! And what a miracle at that!

Comrade Klyuyev, Ivanovo Oblast party committee first secretary, explained to me this man-made miracle as follows:

"This is our Golodnaya Steppe rain! The Uzbekistan Sovkhoz procured spraying systems and it was precisely on the eve of the drought that it managed to make them operational. This huge field was saved thanks to this miracle! Thank you, people of Golodnaya Steppe!"...

My heart filled with joy at this word of gratitude expressed by my senior Russian brother, for I myself am part of this great tribe of Golodnaya Steppe people. I am proud of my courageous compatriots--builders, irrigation and reclamation workers, and sovkhos workers in the Golodnaya Steppe.

I was invited to attend a wedding at the Uzbekistan Sovkhoz. A young Uzbek from Golodnaya Steppe, a truck driver, was marrying a Russian girl from the neighboring village located at the very end of the swamp. The marriage was being celebrated in the home of the bride's parents. The table was suitably loaded: hot potatoes smoked in big plates, there were white home-pickled mushrooms, cups were being filled to the brim, and two Uzbeks were making pilaf in a huge cast iron pot over an open fire. Naturally, there was endless toasting, for without toasts a wedding is not a wedding!

The master of ceremonies, a sovkhos brigade leader, slowly rose from his seat and turned to the bridegroom:

"Dear son-in-law, you have the floor!"

Everyone began to applaud loudly while the bridegroom blushed like a wild tulip. He stood up and cast a long happy look at the people around him but ... no word came out of his mouth. Actually, this young working boy had never made a speech or addressed so many people.

"Speech! Speech!" those around him shouted.

After a long silence the bridegroom burst out:

"Let us drink to turning the swamp into a Gulistan!"

"Atta boy!" the master of ceremonies exclaimed joyfully. "He hit the nail on the head!"

At the time that this marriage was taking place the people of Furmanovskiy Rayon were quite familiar with Golodnaya Steppe. They knew that this previously sunburnt, sterile land had now become a fertile area, an area of "white gold" gardens, rich canals, power plants and powerful modern industrial enterprises. They also knew that today the vast fields of two oblasts in the Uzbek SSR--Syr-Darya and Dzhizak--stretched in the Golodnaya Steppe and that Gulistan (Flower Country) was the center of the former.

"So, that is what our dear son-in-law wants!" the peasants thought proudly. "Why not? He and his friends are such fine fellows that they could actually make our village a Gulistan, having already conquered the drought!"

The people of Furmanovo--hereditary Nonchernozem peasants--knew that the development of Golodnaya Steppe was undertaken a long time ago, in 1918, a year of incredible difficulty for the country, when our great leader Lenin signed a Soviet government decree appropriating 50 million rubles for irrigation work in Turkestan. As early as 1920 the first train bringing engineers, irrigation and reclamation workers, physicians and zootechnicians arrived here....

Realizing, however, that the development of major projects required more than people from Russia, that same year Vladimir Il'ich signed another equally important decree on the creation of the Turkestan state university, the

purpose of which was to train scientific cadres from the sons and daughters of the local people.

The simple words expressed by this young Uzbek in the circle of his Ivanovo friends and relatives were particularly meaningful also because during the stormy years of the civil war, the alarming days when the fate of the Soviet system in Turkestan literally hung on a thread, when the local feudal lords and gangs of basmach, supported by White Guards and their foreign patrons, burned villages, wrecked cities and killed thousands of innocent people, the young but already combat-famous Red Army came to the aid of the peoples of Central Asia, headed by the heroic son of the Russian people Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze and the legendary commissar Dmitriy Furmanov, who subsequently wrote the novel "Myatezh" [Mutiny] on life in Turkestan during those difficult days.

Today Uzbeks work in the rayon named after Furmanov. They are transforming the hard land of the Nonchernozem: drying swamps, uprooting tree stumps, cultivating the land, building settlements and schools....

Traveling from Ivanovo to Ples--this fabulously beautiful corner on the bank of the Volga--you will see the blue domes of an oriental teahouse, which is so harmoniously etched within a truly Russian forest landscape that you can only wonder why was there no such thing here in the past and how good it is that it does exist now, this bright and warm teahouse, a place where working people of different nationalities meet as friends.

Sitting in the teahouse and listening to the conversation of young construction workers, I was thinking of the future of the Nonchernozem. It is no accident that the party's Central Committee and the Soviet government are showing such great concern for the development of these difficult lands, for, like the Golodnaya Steppe and the virgin lands, the Russian Nonchernozem is a priceless contribution to the country and the Soviet people who are undertaking the implementation of the USSR Food Program, which was adopted at the May Central Committee plenum.

The Soviet people are creative. They think of major accomplishments and consider themselves mobilized for the implementation of responsible assignments and do not conceive of their lives differently. They--workers and kolkhoz members, construction and irrigation workers, driver, reclamation workers, or teachers--are interested in everything taking place in the country and sense their involvement with the constructive accomplishments of their party and people.

Great, honorable and highly esteemed is the toil of the Soviet person.

On a visit to Ivanovo, I attended the traditional holiday of the textile workers, something I was unfamiliar with. At the beginning of September they welcome the first train bringing Uzbek cotton from the new crop. The railroad station was decorated with flags and banners. The "gold echelon" approached the platform. According to the Russian custom, noted textile workers presented bread and salt to the valued guests from Uzbekistan. A

solemn meeting was held. Then the people of Ivanovo and the Uzbeks hugged and kissed as an expression of their reciprocal warm feelings of friendship and brotherhood.

This touching meeting reminded me of the past of my republic, the distance covered by my people under the Soviet system, ever since the Uzbek SSR was founded, for I have personally witnessed everything that has taken place after the memorable 1924.

I remember the way I, a little 6-year-old boy, was taken for the first time to school by my grandfather.... Naturally, at that time the schools were not what they are now. The children of an entire district were crowded in two small rooms. Once the teacher took us to the square which was next to the old town bazaar. It was crowded and a red flag was raised high, fluttering in the wind.... Many years later I found out that this was a meeting in celebration of the founding of the Uzbek SSR and that the thin man with a small beard and warm eyes who addressed it was none other than the all-union elder Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin....

The years passed. Our generation grew up and matured and we not only witnessed major events but took part in them ourselves. I recall the mid-1920s, when crowds of women gathered in urban districts and villages, removing the veils and kerchiefs off their heads, throwing them in the bonfires burning on streets and squares. I remember the inauguration of the Krasnaya Zarya First Clothing Factory, which employed Uzbek women. I am proud of my mother who became one of the first workers in that factory.

I remember the years of the land and water reform in Uzbekistan and the first president of the republic Yuldash Akhunbabayev, the talented organizer of this truly revolutionary accomplishment, a tireless fighter for rural collectivization. In my novel "Bessmertiyе" [Immortality] I described the Leninist cultural revolution and the outstanding representative of the October generation of bolshevik revolutionaries--Akmal Ikramov. The first leaders of the Uzbek SSR, like those of the other fraternal republics, were active participants in the socialist revolution. This truth refutes the slander and fabrications of our ideological enemies to the effect that the revolution was exported from Russia to Central Asia and that the people of the national outlying areas were neither ready nor willing to make it.

It takes more than 3 hours to fly from Tashkent to Moscow and the time differential is roughly the same. Therefore, I can lunch at home and have lunch again in the capital. It is as though aviation steals time and shortens distances. Still, if there is nothing urgent, I would rather travel to Moscow by train, the old-fashioned way. For 2.5 days the train rolls along the native land and one can see the beauty of the fatherland with one's own eyes. Every time, emotionally I await my meeting with Russia. My Rus'! We call it Uzbekistan's elder sister.

I leaf through the pages of history. I look into the depth of the centuries. I store in my memory events from most ancient times and subsequent centuries. However, I cannot find even a remote similarity between them and our life.

our socialist reality, our Soviet system, our fraternal family, our unity and our dedication to the common cause.

Russia...Lenin...October.... These words are sacred to every Uzbek, to all Soviet people. Our friendship and fraternity with the great Russian people, with all peoples of the Soviet Union, have been frequently tested in combat and labor and in the great accomplishments of the age.

I remember the year 1932, when the foundations of the Tashkent Textile Combine were being laid. Famous textile workers from Ivanovo came to us to train the Uzbek women in their craft. At the same time, a large group of our girls went to Ivanovo to learn and work while the combine's shops were being built in Tashkent. The years and the decades passed.... Today we have a large number of such combines in the republic, plants and factories in which the students of the first students who learned their skill from the Russian sisters and brothers, are at work!

Our sunny Uzbekistan is described as the republic of the "white gold." Yes, this is true. Cotton is our pride, our glory, our international duty to the country and to all the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity. Compare: whereas in 1922 Uzbekistan produced less than 40,000 tons of cotton, today the republic is producing more than 6 million tons of "white gold!" And everything began, as we said, with Lenin's decree.

... 1943, the year of the Stalingrad victory. Meanwhile, far from the banks of the Volga, a great peaceful construction project--the Farkhadsкая GES--was being built on the Central Asian steppe. Electric power reached dozens of cities, hundreds of villages, plants and factories in Tashkent and many industrial centers in the republic. The Yuzhno-Golodnostepskiy irrigation canal starts at the Farkhadsкая Dam. This project was followed by the completion of the Chardarya Reservoir. All of this was the continuation of the projects planned on the basis of Lenin's decree. More than 200,000 hectares of "hopeless" land has already been developed in the Golodnaya Steppe.

The experience of the Golodnaya Steppe people and their innovative reclamation methods are successfully applied not only in Central Asia but far beyond it. That is why I find it particularly pleasant to see our specialists, young, energetic and knowledgeable reclamation and construction workers, in the Russian Nonchernozem. I have also visited the Tashkentskiy Sovkhoz in Novgorod Oblast. Here again I met with the grandsons of those who were the first to develop the Central Asian desert and who learned from Lenin's envoys.

The Leninist friendship among the peoples of our country has been frequently tested for its strength in major accomplishments. I cannot forget the most difficult of our trials--the war. The Great Patriotic War proved to the entire world the invincible strength of our fraternal friendship and its great power.

I recall Tashkent at the start of the war. In a few months its half-million population doubled. The doors of all Uzbek homes opened to the women and children evacuated from the western areas. There were Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Moldavians.... The Uzbeks welcomed them as family, and shared with them their roof and their bread. "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" This was the slogan under which plants were built and airplanes, tanks and mortars were produced. Uzbekistan became the country's reliable arsenal. The lines of the poem "Russia" by Kh. Alimdzhan and "You Are Not Alone" by G. Gulyam could be proudly heard in Tashkent. It was from here that Aleksey Tolstoy sent his emotional articles to Pravda. It was here that Yakub Kolas, Mikola Bazhan, Nikolay Pogodin and Vladimir Lugovskoy lived and worked.

I recall another severe trial. Although it happened in peacetime, it was so severe that it would have been extremely difficult for my people alone to withstand and surmount its consequences. I am referring to the 1966 Tashkent earthquake. At dawn on 26 April, starting with the first force 8 shock, for more than a year and a half the underground elements made their presence felt. Virtually all buildings in the city suffered. The people lived in tents. It was being said abroad that Tashkent had perished and that it would take centuries to rebuild it.

The entire country came to the aid of Tashkent. Several hours after the first shock Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev came to the city. A special governmental commission was created. Construction workers hastened to Tashkent from all parts of the Soviet Union, bringing equipment and materials.

The heated days turned into heated weeks and months. The people got to know one another, became friends. Many of those who had come from the Western areas had lived in Tashkent during the war. They recognized the places where they had lived and met with their residents as with relatives. The young construction workers settled in Tashkent and raised families.... Yes, a new great socialist city--the almost 2-million-strong beautiful Tashkent--rose. Truly a city of friendship and brotherhood!

The Uzbek capital is linked with all cities in our country with sincere emotions and strong business ties. Tashkent is the sister city of many foreign towns. International meetings of scientists and cultural and art workers are held here. The Afro-Asian Writers' Movement for Peace was born in Tashkent. The expression "the spirit of Tashkent," which means a spirit of peace and progress, has become a true inspiration.

"It is precisely because Soviet Uzbekistan has marched at all times shoulder to shoulder with and in the unbreakable ranks of all fraternal peoples of the USSR that it was able to rise so rapidly from its former backwardness and become a comprehensively developed and blossoming republic, one of the most advanced countries in the east," L. I. Brezhnev said in presenting the republic its third Order of Lenin. It was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that the selfless aid of the Russian people has played a most important role in the rapid upsurge of the former national outlying areas of Russia.

The aid given by the Russian people is selfless.... Yes, we have received this great aid at all times and still do. We consider the Russian people our elder brother and are proud of its gigantic accomplishments. Our love, our friendship and our brotherhood are reciprocal! "My Uzbekistan!" say the Russians who live not only in the Uzbek SSR but in other republics, cities and villages of our spacious homeland. "My Russia!" we, Uzbeks, proudly say.

I have frequently heard warm words about Russia said by my friends, the Ukrainian Mikola Bazhan, the Belorussian Ivan Shamyakin, the Azerbaijani Mirza Ibragimov, the Kazakh Gabit Musrepov, the Tajik Mirsaid Mirshakar and the Armenian Sil'va Kaputikyan.... In the same manner the Uzbeks and the Russians refer to the fraternal Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan, to all republics in our great union.

Once again my mind goes back to the Golodnaya Steppe, for the extremely rich area which it has become now is the symbol of the new socialist life, of the truly collectivistic relations among people. Today members of more than 60 nations and nationalities live on the territory of the Golodnaya Steppe, i.e., in Syrdarya and Dzhizak oblasts. They do not only live and work here but develop friendships and feel as close to one another as brothers and sisters. All of them--construction and irrigation workers, reclamation and power workers, gas workers and people practicing dozens of other skills--are perfect masters of modern technology, which they apply in an innovative manner, setting examples of creative toil, and helping one another in resolving complex production problems.

Once again I think of encounters related to life in the Golodnaya Steppe.

At one point, my old friend Joseph North--an American writer and a communist--came to Tashkent. He had heard and read a great deal about the Golodnaya Steppe and on this occasion he absolutely wanted to see it. So, we followed the Bol'shoy Uzbekskiy Track, crossed the deep Syrdar'ya River and entered the Golodnaya Steppe. Joseph North looked around him with amazement. He saw the green cotton fields, rich orchards, streams and trees lining the sides of the road, the white villages, bridges, high-tension power cables and television towers.... I could read in his eyes the question: Where are the reeds, the saline soils, the wastelands?

They were nowhere. They disappeared long ago. What there is is a new highly developed life, a new truly socialist reality, offspring of the scientific and technical revolution. The republic has 43 VUZs, of which two pedagogical schools and three branches of Tashkent institutes (polytechnical, national economic, and agricultural irrigation and mechanization engineering) are in the Golodnaya Steppe. More than 100 of the 1,600 industrial enterprises are in the Golodnaya Steppe, some of them unique, such as the plant for draining pipes used in land reclamation. Every year the Golodnaya Steppe yields about 800,000 tons of "white gold!"

In Yangiyer, a town in the Golodnaya Steppe, Joseph North and I visited the children's music school and heard a concert performed by a children's orchestra. An Uzbek girl was on the piano, a Kazakh girl played the flute, a

Tajik girl the dutar, a Turkmen girl played the tara, a Tatar girl played the accordion, a Ukrainian boy the balalaika, a Jewish girl the guitar and a Kirghiz boy, the violin....

"American blacks could not even dream of such a thing!" my guest remarked admiringly.

We then visited the Golodnaya Steppe Museum. North looked at the exhibits and then leafed through the noted guests registry. The entries were made at different times by noted Soviet and foreign party and state leaders, scientists, writers, cosmonauts and journalists. They included L. I. Brezhnev, Fidel Castro, A. N. Kosygin, Todor Zhivkov, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Agostinho Neto, Babrak Karmal, and others.

"Yes, this is happiness! An entire age!" my American friend exclaimed. "Two worlds on this planet! The first is the world of freedom, equality and fraternity among nations--the socialist world, headed by the great Soviet Union! The second is the world of capitalist oppression, national hostility, aggression and war, headed by American imperialism."

My friend made this statement in the Golodnaya Steppe, in the city of the builders of Yangiyer, and recorded them in the guest book.

I repeat: whenever I speak or write about the Golodnaya Steppe, I speak and write about our socialist reality, about my Uzbekistan--a sunny republic, equal among 15 happy sisters!

There is yet another recollection related to the Golodnaya Steppe.

Eighteen years ago I visited a number of African countries. Unexpectedly, in one of them I turned out to be the guest of the president. Suddenly, during our conversation, he began to speak of...the Golodnaya Steppe. It turned out that he had read everything written on the subject and on the great changes, particularly the extensive use of irrigation and reclamation construction, including the automated supply of water through powerful dams, flowing along concrete-lined canals, the reclamation system involving the use of clay pipes, the extremely rich vertical and horizontal draining systems, the installation of spring machinery, and so on, and so forth....

The president then turned to the difficulties in his country. Flowing on its territory is one of the broadest and richest rivers in Africa. The river either overflows or turns shallow. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of hectares of sunburnt soil remain lifeless, as they did a thousand years ago.... American, French and some other irrigation and reclamation projects remain on paper only. It is the president's dream to visit the Soviet Union and see Uzbekistan, the Golodnaya Steppe, the dams, canals, hydroelectric power stations and plants with his own eyes....

My heart is filled with shining happiness and great pride when I think of the great changes which are taking place under our very eyes throughout the land of the soviets, including my sunny Uzbekistan.

The Soviet peoples, united by the call of the heart within a single fraternal family around the great Russian people, are confidently marching forward.

May the sun of our Leninist friendship and great fraternity, which lights the path to the bright communist future, shine through the centuries!

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PRICELESS POSSESSION

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[Article by S. Nekorysnov, student at the Moscow Higher Command School for Road and Engineering Troops]

[Text] Friendship is one of the most important concepts which we master in early childhood. The years pass and we grow up and mature. I must admit that I have not always thought about this great and meaningful word--friendship. To each one of us it is as simple and ordinary as water, bread and homeland. In all of us friendship lies in the heart, thoughts and actions. However, situations arise in life in which even what is ordinary and simple appears in an entirely different light. Something similar happened to me when I started thinking of the tremendous importance which friendship among the Soviet peoples has had in my life. That is the topic of my tale.

Since childhood my dream was to become an officer. I graduated from the Kalinin Suvorov School and donned the insignia of a military academy student. Military service at the Kiev Higher Combined Army Command Academy imeni M. V. Frunze was easy because of the habits acquired at the Suvorov School. Learning, however, did not come easily from the beginning. It required effort and application but I was unable to bring myself to do this, being short of willpower. Briefly stated, the result was that I was discharged from the school for poor grades.

I spent my military service in a limited contingent of Soviet forces which had just been assigned to provide fraternal international aid to the Afghan people. During that first year, our reconnaissance company carried out a great variety of assignments.

This also happened.... Bandits blew up a bridge linking one province to another. Supply deliveries to the population came virtually to a stop. It was impossible to supply the population with prime necessity goods, medicines or textbooks. Soviet and Afghan engineers built a new bridge slightly to the side of the old one and it was we, reconnaissance troops, who guarded it.

Initially, the population of the village located nearby adopted a cautious attitude toward it. The youngsters were the bravest of all. They visited us frequently. We frequently shared our rations with them, which they answered with "Tashakor! Tashakor!" which meant "thank you." On one occasion three village elders came to visit us. Our cook, Pvt Murad Erkabayev, was our

interpreter. It turned out that they were thanking us for our arrival. They thought that the Soviet soldiers would begin to seek revenge from the population for the fact that it was precisely next to their village that the bandits had destroyed the bridge. They were now begging our forgiveness for such seditious thoughts. The Soviet troops show a concerned attitude also for the fields and the trees, as though they were their own. This meant that they were good people. Then, approaching us, the elders held our hands in both of theirs as a sign of particular respect for the "dustane aziz," i.e., their good friends.

It was thus that we established good relations with the local population. These relations strengthened by the hour rather than the day, as the saying goes. But how else could it be! The entire world knows that we came to Afghanistan not to conquer or subjugate its people but to help them in the fierce struggle against the enemy. Whatever may have been said on this occasion in the capitalist world, however malicious they have been or have slandered us, they were unable to destroy the friendship linking the Soviets with the Afghan peoples. This friendship has deep roots, for it is the fruit of human trust. I saw this with my own eyes. I have frequently experienced the friendly attitude of simple people who, naturally, can distinguish good from evil without any prompting from overseas. And we brought them good.

Once, together with Afghan troops, we decided to help the peasants rebuild their irrigation systems. We proclaimed a subbotnik among the subunits and reported the fact to the village. I recall this subbotnik with a smile to this day. At that time the peasants became frightened. Now, however, the words "subbotnik" and "voskresnik" have become firmly established in their vocabulary. I know now, from the press, that hundreds of thousands of people gather in Kabul to work on the improvement of their city. The local populations of Kandahar, Kunduz, Ghazni, Jalalabad and other settlements are building by themselves dozens of schools, hospitals, literacy campaign (another new term for them) premises, and irrigation systems. At that time, when we first arrived in Afghanistan, the peasants asked how much money will the Soviet soldiers ask for their work? In the course of the subbotnik enthusiasm for the common project gripped both adults and children. The example of the "shuravi," as we, Soviet people, were known to the Afghans, was the best possible propaganda in favor of a new type of labor and life.

Yes, there were many firsts for our friends at that time. I recall that once we organized for the local population an imaginary trip to the Soviet Union. We mounted color reproductions and photographs on a few panels. We did not have to look for guides too long. Our subunit included members of virtually all republics. Pvt Nikolay Pinchuk described his Belorussia; Khezretov Babakhan spoke of the republics of Central Asia, while Tamulis Rimontas described the Baltic area. I spoke about Russia.

The Afghans asked us innumerable questions! This lively and immediate interest shown by mostly illiterate people included many questions which seemed to us naive and strange, dictated by ignorance and slander, which is usually disseminated by the enemies of the revolution. For example, my fellow servicemen from Central Asia were most seriously asked whether it was

true that they were forbidden to leave their republics, to marry girls from other nationalities, and so on. We answered all questions, for it was easy to propagandize something in which we ourselves sacredly believed--the bright ideals of the Soviet people.

However, it was under such unusual circumstances that I personally was able truly to realize the importance of the great gains of socialism, which had provided human life with a new dimension and the true worth of human relations. How important it is to know and always to feel, I thought, that one's own significance lies not in belonging to an elect stratum or a specific nation, or else as the result of inherited wealth, but is due to oneself, to one's own capabilities. Wherever one may be born or whoever one's parents may be, all roads remain open.

Here, however, I was faced with people who found it difficult to believe all this. Our ordinary daily life seemed to them like a beautiful tale, an unattainable dream. They found it difficult to understand why my father was Russian and my mother Ukrainian, and that they had met at the all-union construction project of the port of Nakhodka. I was forced to explain that this is the type of project built by members of dozens of different nations and nationalities coming from all parts of the country.

On one occasion, I distinguished myself, along with many others, in carrying out an order. Major Vladimir Il'ich Grechanik, an extremely busy person, found the time to write a letter of thanks to my parents. Touched, they answered the officer. For quite some time now I have not served under Grechanik but my father and mother continue to correspond with him. People who were totally unknown to each other previously have now become close.

Need I repeat how difficult our service was? However, it was precisely there that I attained totally its lofty meaning and its most profound truths. Better than ever before I realized the great power of collectivism, comradeship and friendship, which are felt particularly strongly in the army. It is expressed in the fact that your fellow soldier has shared with you his last drop of water in a long march. I have seen soldiers give blood to their sick comrade through direct transfusion in the mountains, under open skies. I have frequently witnessed how during difficult and long marches in the mountains experienced soldiers helped the young by carrying the heavier gear and during stops give the tastiest food to the novices.

One evening, after an exercise conducted jointly with Afghan troops, tired, we were sitting around a campfire, side by side with Afghan soldiers and officers. Again and again we discussed the events of the day. It was probably not accidental that it was precisely at that point that the conversation turned to the battles of the Great Patriotic War. We described to our new comrades-in-arms the way the fascists boasted that the Soviet Union would crumble during the very first days of the war, like a colossus with feet of clay. It did not happen. Russians and Ukrainians, Kazakhs and Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis and Georgians--members of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union--withstood in a mortal battle with the enemy, shoulder to shoulder, and won.

At that point Private Dzhumagulov, a Kazakh, read a poem by his fellow countryman Olzhas Suleymenov entitled "The Nameless Hill:"

... Nameless hill.
Why is it nameless?
Thirty people have given it their own names forever:
There were four Ivans, three Petrs, two Akhmets,
Khamit and Sasha,
Kirill, Vladimir, Isaak
And the small medic Agasha--
Our soldiers who had vanished without a trace....

I was listening to these touching lines and thought that, naturally, a great deal had changed in our country and army since the war. Weapons and combat materiel have become different and assignments have changed. It is only the friendship among the Soviet peoples and their sacred relationships which have remained the same. Today, in difficulty, I was helped by the Azerbaijani Nabiyeu, the Ukrainian Karpenko and the Lithuanian Rimontas. Tomorrow members of other nationalities will be sharing with me the burdens and privations of military service, for our reconnaissance company alone included at that time members of 29 different nationalities. Occasionally, the figure would exceed 50. Not once during my military service did I ever hear of any conflict based on nationality. Nor could such a thing occur, for in the armed forces, the very essence of the service involves dedicated friendship, which is a priceless gain inherited from our heroic predecessors. This is also probably the reason for the fact that there is no stronger feeling than that of respect for one's fellow soldier about whom one could confidently say "I will reconnoiter with him!" I am glad that I experienced this myself in full.

It is probably not accidental that in Afghanistan I thought more and more about my military student years. With increasing clarity I began to realize that I had made a serious error by abandoning the dream of my youth, that I had been faint-hearted.

The end of my military service arrived imperceptibly. However, by then I had firmly resolved not to part with the army but to try to be like my courageous and fearless commanders.

Before entering and at the academy I had frequently heard that the officer's profession is a heroic one. This was a lofty, a solemn word. However, it was only after I had gone through the harsh army training that I realized its true content.

Last autumn, the following entries showed up in my military record: to be awarded the medal "For Combat Merit" and be assigned student at the Moscow Higher Command School for Road and Engineering Troops. My former classmates had advanced far ahead whereas I began everything from the beginning.

I now think of the many people of different ages, professions and nationalities to whom I owe the fact that I was successfully able to surmount all

difficulties and troubles in order to achieve my dream. Naturally, the overwhelming majority of them do not even suspect this, in the same way that in the course of our daily life we do not think that all of us together, all 270 million of us, are bound by invisible ties of friendship. This friendship is in our hearts, our thoughts and our actions. It is this that makes our example strong and attractive to the peoples the world over.

Let me mention in conclusion something about my studies, considering my previous failures. At the beginning of this school year I pledged that I would become an excellent student by the day of the celebration of the founding of the USSR and I kept my word. At that time, I recall, while collective pledges were being discussed, I asked military student Stanislav Oreshkov, the Komsomol group organizer, how many nationalities were represented in our squad? It turned out that there were representatives of nine republics in the squad and 12 in the company.

Interested in such statistics, we found out that in the entire school there were students belonging to almost 30 different nationalities. The faculty as well was multinational.

Could our school be an exception in this respect? It is not. I recall that at the Kiev school members of 44 nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union were mastering military science. Actually, why should we be amazed, if we recall that at the "Shield-82" exercise troops of 60 nationalities were members of a single subunit! This incidentally, was reported in the press. But let me mention something else as well.

I think that in that distant 1922 when, together with his fellow workers, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was drafting the blueprint for the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, he dreamed precisely of such times. As the greatest of internationalists, he knew and always believed that the years would pass and in the country where the socialist revolution won for the first time, the people would forget national quarrels and discord. The people would not even be interested in whether one is a Russian, a Kazakh, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Belorussian or Lett. What is important is that one is a Soviet person and, therefore, a son in the great family of fraternal peoples. This time has arrived.

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NEW CHAPTER IN MANKIND'S HISTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 48-50

[Article by Gyorgy Lazar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers]

[Text] The creation of the multinational Soviet state marked the program which was formulated by Lenin as follows in 1919: "We want a voluntary union of nations, the type of union which would not allow coercion on the part of one nation over another, the type of union which would be founded on total trust, clear awareness of fraternal unity and totally voluntary agreement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 43). The history of the past 6 decades brilliantly proves that the working class in power can create a state in which the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated and the total equality among different nations, nationalities and ethnic groups is possible. That is precisely why the first workers' state in the world could and did set an example which gives hope and inspires confidence.

Aware of the mortal danger which the birth of a new society represented to it, imperialism mobilized all its forces to drown the socialist revolution in blood. However, after rejecting the chains of czarism, under the leadership of the Leninist bolshevik party, in the course of a dedicated and heroic struggle against the troops of the interventionists and the counterrevolutionary gangs, the workers and peasants defended the Soviet system. Having surmounted thousands of difficulties, precisely when the capitalist world was shaken up by an unparalleled economic crisis, within a short time the Soviet people transformed the once backward agrarian country into an industrial state. The material well-being and cultural standards of the people rose significantly.

As the CPSU Central Committee noted last February, referring to the creation of the Soviet state, it is an unquestionable historical truth that the founding of the Soviet Union and its successful development are of universal-historical significance. They are a milestone in the age-old struggle for equality waged by the oppressed peoples. In implementing its internationalist mission, from the very first moment of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people became a reliable bulwark of the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements fighting colonial oppression.

Mankind will preserve forever with respect and gratitude the remembrance that it was above all the Soviet Union and the heroism of the Soviet people to

whom it owes its salvation from the horrors of fascism and the fact that Europe is experiencing today the longest period of peace in history. As the first great socialist power in the world, the Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist principles and its historical traditions, to this day is consistently defending peace, calling for restraining the arms race and fighting for the prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe which threatens the existence of mankind.

These aspirations were confirmed by Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, who noted that the communist party and the Soviet state "will multiply their efforts in the struggle for the security of the nations and will strengthen cooperation with all peace-loving forces on earth." In our days, when socialism has already become a world system, and when the military potential of the Warsaw Pact members has radically changed the ratio of forces between the two social systems, the peace-loving forces can force the warmongers to retreat.

We, Hungarians, celebrate the day of the birth of the Soviet Union as our own. This is not only because the October Revolution expressed the expectations of millions of Hungarians but also because the friendship between our peoples is as old as the October Revolution. The fact that about 100,000 Hungarian internationalists defended the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution arms in hand is an exciting factor in our history. We are also proud of the fact that the second workers' state in the world--the Hungarian Soviet Republic--was the first international ally of the young Soviet state in March 1919. Nor shall we ever forget the fact that after the defeat of our revolution many thousands of our compatriots, forced to leave the homeland, were given a home in the Soviet Union, where they actively participated in building what was then the only socialist state in the world.

We deem it an act of historical justice that in 1945 it was precisely Soviet arms and Red Army soldiers that brought our country and people freedom, once again giving us the opportunity to abandon the kingdom of necessity for the kingdom of freedom through a common way, the way of socialism. During the most difficult times of the last 3.5 decades and longer, we have always felt the presence of the Soviet people who have supported our cause. It was they who helped us immediately after the liberation to sweep off the wreckage of the war and to start a new life. We were able to count on them also in the struggle for power at the end of the 1940s, the autumn of 1956 and in resolving an innumerable number of problems related to our socialist construction. Without the support of the Soviet Union we would have been unable to lay the foundations for socialism and our country would have been unable to turn from one of the most backward ones in Europe into a medium-developed industrial-agrarian state.

The many-sided cooperation among our parties, the MSZMP and the CPSU, plays a particularly important role in the development and strengthening of our friendship and alliance. The relations between our parties and regular exchanges of views, based on equality and unity of objectives and principles, are particularly useful, for they enable us to learn and use the rich experience of our Soviet friends. Comrade Janos Kadar was expressing the thoughts and feelings of the entire Hungarian people when he said that "... by

preserving, strengthening and deepening Hungarian-Soviet and developing our all-round cooperation, we are able to most properly and better defend our own Hungarian national interests. This is the most important guarantee for the preservation of our sovereignty and national independence and protection from any possible imperialist interference" (Janos Kadar, "Izbr. Stat'i i Rechi" [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, p 207).

Let us particularly mention the determining role which the fruitful economic relations established with the Soviet Union play in our efforts to develop the country. Suffice it to say that most of our raw material and energy requirements are met by the Soviet economy and that the Soviet Union is the largest market for our industrial and agricultural products. The Soviet Union accounts for nearly one-third of our foreign trade. We are profoundly interested in making our cooperation with the Soviet Union even closer and more comprehensive. This has already been embodied in such outstanding projects as the metallurgical combine in Dunaujvaros, the 750-kilovolt Vinnitsa-Albertirsa power cable and the Paks nuclear electric power plant, which will be commissioned in the immediate future.

Our 12th party congress has set the objective of surmounting the changes in a world economy adverse to us, restore our national economic balance, preserve already acquired gains and lay the foundations for our subsequent faster development. We will be able to implement these difficult tasks only if, while mobilizing our own forces, we become involved even more closely with socialist economic integration and make even fuller use of the opportunities and advantages offered by CEMA.

Our people know and highly value the fruitful relations which have developed between Soviet and Hungarian science. During the past decades a number of important problems were resolved jointly. Presently, specialists from our two countries are jointly working on some 80 topics. The joint Soviet-Hungarian space flight stands out particularly vividly and impressively among the numerous examples provided by our scientific and technical cooperation. However, no less important to us are also the results we have achieved in cultural cooperation and which make it possible for our peoples to gain new impressions and increasing knowledge of each other's art.

We share common ideals and objectives, and although we are different in many things, the essence lies not in our differences but in what L. I. Brezhnev described as follows during his visit to Hungary in 1979: "No two countries in the world are totally alike. Each one has its own unique features.... The attentive and, in the full meaning of the term, sympathetic approach to reciprocal characteristics has become the norm of Soviet-Hungarian relations."

Our alliance and friendship are unbreakable and eternal. Such are the feelings with which our people welcome the great holiday of the Soviet people--the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

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WHY I AM A COMMUNIST, WHY I AM THE SOVIET UNION'S FRIEND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 51-57

[Article by Mikis Theodorakis, Greek Parliament deputy]

[Text] I am frequently asked how many times fascist and dictatorial regimes have thrown me in jail. I start counting and...give up. A number of times. Each occasion leaves a scar on the heart and the deepest of them was the first.

This was in 1942, during the fascist occupation of Greece. At that time, as a very young man whose mind, to tell the truth, represented a total confusion of various semi-Christian and semi-nonresistance ideas, I was able to lay my hands on a short biographic essay on Lenin with extreme difficulty. At night, passing the valuable book from hand to hand, my friends and I gradually read aloud the pages describing this great life. During the day we hid the book in the most secluded corners of the house: one did not have to be particularly perspicacious to predict what we could expect if the book were found. The book on Lenin became my textbook of life and was with me the entire time of the occupation. Soon afterwards, in March 1942, on Greece's national holiday, I was entrusted with the great task of participating in the first antifascist demonstration. I carried a poster calling for fighting for Greek freedom. We were surrounded by policemen and soldiers. I raised my poster even higher and thus drew the attention of the policemen. Occasionally I would be hit but I shouted with all my strength spontaneous words which seemed to me to be a proper answer to the enemy--"long live the Soviet Union!"

This was my first jail term and my fellow inmates were courageous, strong and very honest people. Most of them were communists. That is how my "universities" began, and what taught me political principle-mindedness, faith in the victory of the cause of communism and the ability to identify the class enemy. I was also taught lessons in political literacy. That is how I became a communist and for more than 40 years have proudly borne that title as member of the Greek Communist Party.

And now today I have the honor to be the guest of the Soviet people celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. What I saw in Moscow and the thoughts and feelings of all those who participated in the ceremonious meeting in the Kremlin are unforgettable. I can confidently say that in terms of strength and vividness these impressions can be compared only with what I experienced during the Moscow World Youth and Student Festival.

It was then, in the summer of 1957, that I was able to come to the Soviet Union about which I had heard so much and to which my personal destiny was so closely linked, for the very existence of the land of the soviets, the country of the October Revolution, had become the most important incentive for my, and not mine alone, spiritual molding as a citizen, patriot and communist.

I recall the way the "Baltika" motor ship, which carried the participants in the festival slowly entered the Leningrad harbor. The outlines of the city of the revolution became increasingly clear and bright yet most painful memories burst out in me: youth, the occupation, the resistance, the civil war.... I remembered years of living underground, jail and exile.... How much more of this was awaiting me I did not know. What I saw mainly were the faces of my dear comrades shot to death and tortured by the fascists, maimed for life. And that which they dreamed about in the last minutes of their lives, at dawn before the firing squad, I was destined to see in its visible and splendid embodiment. These were moments of most profound emotional turbulence. I had prepared for them a long time but when they came nothing could remove the lump from my throat.

It was then, during the festival, in the days of this joyful and seemingly such short first meeting with Moscow that I earned recognition as a composer. The jury judging the competition among musicians, headed, and that was no joke, by Shostakovich himself, awarded first prize to my composition of a suite for piano with orchestra. Once again my mind was flooded with memories....

In the years of life in profound clandestinity a comrade asked me:

"Have you heard Shostakovich?"

"Yes."

"Is he really one of the greatest composers in the world?"

"Yes."

"Here again we, communists, are first."

He said this and left. He left forever. These were his final words. Soon afterwards this hero who worked underground was detained and savagely tortured. His name was Pavlos Papamerkouriou. In one breath I wrote both the words and the music for "Song of the Dead Brother."

It is only out-and-out reactionaries or extremely naive people who could assume that art remains on the margin of history. No, it is the living flesh and blood of the people's dreams, faith and love. That is why those who, by virtue of their vocation, have dedicated themselves entirely to artistic creativity play, or rather, could play, a major role in social life. Most artists support democratic and progressive views. There is nothing astounding in this, for the tireless desire to embody the people's truth in one's

creativity means also the desire to know historical truth and not only to know it but to follow it.

Careful, and, in my view, farsighted bourgeois politicians realize this perfectly, after which they do everything possible either to destroy progressive art with a frontal attack or to corrupt it, which, in fact, is one and the same. The imperialists have many means with which to accomplish this: they have power, money and, naturally, the material facilities for the creation and dissemination of works of art. The press, radio, television, and exhibition and concert halls--all this without which the life of an artist is inconceivable--as a rule either belongs to the bourgeoisie or is under its control. Under these circumstances the role of the communists in art becomes particularly important, for it is only they who can and must organize anyone who cares for the future of mankind in the Western countries. It is also they alone who can accurately identify the true and the false friends of artistic creativity and to identify its enemies, whatever "innocent" masks they may be wearing.

Imperialism has mounted a new offensive against the forces of progress. It is acquiring increasingly clear, cruel and, I would say, ugly definable features. The plans for the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe and the events in Lebanon are the very latest and most alarming symptoms of this.

If an artist is legitimately to be considered one he must try to influence public opinion--to awaken the people from the Philistine bourgeois slumber to which both the bourgeoisie and bourgeois art try to lead them with the help of special "soporifics."

The artist always has at his disposal two powerful means for performing his progressive historical mission. They are art as such and the political struggle itself. In my view, actually, these two means are inseparable. Naturally, art plays its most important role today as it will in the future. Sometimes, whereas a political fighter appealing to the people must deliver many speeches, it would suffice for the artist to write a single poem or song, or paint a single canvas. It is precisely here that the greatest explosive force of progressive revolutionary art is manifested, which, not eliminating the painstaking political upbringing of the masses in the least, is capable in a single instant of blending together the minds and feelings of thousands of people who rise in the struggle for freedom and social justice.

True art, and not various "mass culture" forgeries, which claim to represent all art, should take into consideration the vital problems of society and include answers to the questions affecting the people today. How else could it be? It is precisely through his works that the artist, assuming that he is a true artist by vocation rather than merely by virtue of his craft, can express his soul. If the soul is empty, if he has nothing to say to those who need help, advice and encouragement, what kind of art would this be? However, the artist must find within himself the necessary string which will properly express the feelings in his mind and heart, so that his voice will be inevitably heard by the people, will reach the people through the "bar-rage" of bourgeois pseudoculture. Thus and thus only should the voice of the artist-communist sound. Such is the only possible stand I can take.

At this point I would like to say something else. Bourgeois "mass" culture is aggressive and treacherous. This is manifested, in particular, in the fact that the way it penetrates the minds of the people is not always direct and obvious. Sometimes its forgeries and stereotypes capture an ideological bridgehead surreptitiously, a bridgehead from which it could mount a general offensive on spiritual values. It is particularly important for those who are concerned with the lightness of art and its entertaining, intelligible and vivid nature (which, in itself, is entirely natural) should always remember this. The vividness of art should never develop into an advertising boastfulness; clarity should never conceal primitivism and entertainment should never turn into dangerous thoughtlessness. Believe me that we, the artists in the Western world, have experienced these truths in the course of a constant and fierce confrontation with bourgeois anti-art in all its "mass" and "elitist" varieties.

Today history itself calls upon all artists to raise their voices in the defense of peace and the revolutionary gains of progressive mankind, in the vanguard of which stand the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. A nuclear catastrophe, the threat of which is steadily growing, would mean the death of all life on earth, including the priceless treasures of culture, which I always consider alive even though they may have been created in most ancient times. Who if not we, the Greeks, who live in a country in which the greatest monuments of antiquity have been assembled by the will of history, should especially cherish the warm breath of rocks and stones warmed by the sun, passing on to us the breath of those very distant times of the blossoming of all arts?

I am frequently asked if my optimism in terms of the role which workers in culture can play in the struggle for the prevention of a threat of a nuclear war is founded on something realistic and does my optimism have a rational historical kernel. Those who ask this also add that on the eve of World War II the peace movement in which many artists participated proved itself helpless to prevent the dramatic and, more than that, the tragic course of events. This was indeed so. However, one should not forget that at that time there was no socialist comity and that the Soviet Union, encircled by capitalism and in the grip of an open or concealed economic, political, and cultural blockade, found it incomparably more difficult to defend the cause of peace. Today the situation is quite different. The prospects of the struggle for peace have become more obvious and clear. The fact that there has been no war in Europe for almost 40 years must be credited to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Imperialism perfectly realizes that under present-day conditions it would be unable to defeat the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind which is firmly opposing the plans of the Western military to unleash a new world war. This proves yet once again that progressive art has today powerful political allies and that the artists who represent it have like-minded and consistent allies. Art means peace and peace and socialism are indivisible. This axiom has been repeatedly confirmed by history.

However, major obstacles arise on the way to durable peace. One of them, directly related to art and culture at large, is the unabated ideological

influence which the bourgeoisie exerts on the minds of the masses in capitalist countries. To begin with, it tries to conceal from them the truth about the Soviet Union and socialism in general, to question the theory and practice of real socialism and thus to remove from the realm of political ideology and culture anything pertaining to the socialist comity--the true bulwark of peace on earth. The progress of socialism in all areas, including art, is constantly ignored, belittled or wrapped in dense clouds of slander and sensational fabrications. Some artists take the bait of this propaganda and find themselves involved in the orbit of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. It is noteworthy that the bourgeoisie lovingly "encourages" such "creative workers," with the stick or the carrot, tying them to its chariot tighter and tighter. At the same time and in connection with this, real campaigns of spiritual and sometimes even physical terror are organized against progressive artists. How many are the writers, composers and painters in the capitalist world who are wasting away in jail or are working under the threat of detention, violence or annihilation?

However, "peaceful" terror--spiritual coercion--is equally hard to bear. A life filled with forced silence is unbearable to the true artist. Nothing can replace for him the sacred joy of communicating with his readers, listeners or viewers. Spiritual isolation and deprivation of the possibility to work are old and tried methods for the suppression of creativity. The stage, the audience hall and the orchestra--when we speak of music--the artificially created and entirely "objective" commercial barriers--reject those who are "obsolete," "excessively politicized," "not understood by the public" or, conversely, are "excessively simplistic," and so on. Such people have no access to radio and television studios. As to the radio and television programs themselves, the coercion of "masterpieces" imported from overseas literally stupefy those who, turning on the radio or television set, have still not lost their perceptiveness. As a composer, naturally, I have been exposed to music more than anything else, for which reason I am well familiar with the music message broadcast by Western European stations. Should we judge musical life in the world on their basis it may appear that American rock with its great variety counts for virtually everything with which mankind lives in the realm of music harmony. Another sad thing is that all kinds of political and other information, which interspaces musical programs, never reports anything good regarding the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. If nothing bad can be reported as well, the audience can well develop the idea that everything east of the Oder-Neise line and all the way to the Pacific Ocean, represents a dead space of nothingness.

The artist has only one alternative to this. It is to concentrate his entire strength on seeking ways leading to the people, to the people's mind, which always contains the vivifying sources of democracy, truth and purity. The outstanding Greek artists have always been aware of this fact. To me the poetry of Yannis Ritsos has always been a model of how one can and must trust the simple people. "Epitaph," his outstanding poem dedicated to the participants in the workers demonstration in Salonika on 9 May 1936, who were shot to death, a work which I have been happy to put into music, include the following words:

You left in May, my son, in May you parted with me,
You left me in late-blooming spring....
You spoke of the future and your voice was firm and tender.
You dreamed of the future, the blinding and blossoming
Future, which seemed so close....
Yet now you are dead and this flame no longer warms me.

... You have not left me, my dear, you live in us,
My son, you live alive forever in the people....

"... You live alive forever in the people"--how beautiful those words are and is this not the true purpose of art?!

My working conditions in my homeland have improved in recent years. This is a manifestation above all of the concern of the Greek Communist Party which is trying to create, inasmuch as circumstances allow, a favorable political atmosphere around my work. I also feel great gratitude for my German friends in the GDR, where I am invariably welcomed most warmly, and where the splendid orchestras and choirs of the republic await me. Thus, I rehearsed and played for the first time my second and third symphonies in the GDR. What can I say, my dream is to face Soviet orchestras, which are among the best in the world.

I have not composed political works in the straight meaning of the term, although I consider myself a political composer and I simply do not conceive of myself as being anything else. Whenever I have been able to express the true feelings and expectations of the people, political truth speaks for itself openly and directly, even though this may not be expressed in a political slogan or appeal. Politics, as I understand it, means not only words but a mass spirit, the spirit of the people, solidarity, and the combination of thoughts, actions and feelings. To this day many of my songs remain banned in my homeland. Not so long ago I was the target of reprisals for having composed them. In a certain sense my own destiny is an example of the fact that works of art, songs in particular, have become effective political weapons. The fact that my songs have generated and still generate fears means that they are dangerous to those whom I hate. This makes me proud.

It seems to me that one of the most important tasks today is to unite the progressive artists of all countries for the most important cause--the struggle for peace. With every passing day we must broaden the base of cooperation among the masters of culture. Were we to reach an agreement on the basic problems of war and peace we would take the next step--we would strengthen our relations and coordinate our actions, we would act within a single front. Against the background of the steadily growing international movement for peace, which is involving ever-new political, trade union, youth, women's and many other organizations, the voices of the artists are still not in harmony to a greater or lesser extent. This must not be.

Today the USSR is 60 years old and I have been involved in politics for 40 years. Naturally, these facts are merely chronological and only remotely comparable. However, the tremendous historical experience of the Soviet

Heroin and my own personal experience have convinced me of the power of political solidarity among people and of the political organization of fighters sharing clear and noble ideals and realistic and scientific objectives. Why, therefore, not use the artists the world over as a force for political unity in the struggle against the danger of thermonuclear war? I believe that such unity would sweep off the face of the earth all isolated castles and ivory towers in which some may nurture the hope of leading a peaceful artistic life, having formulated opinions on everything while remaining totally uninvolved.

The view that art and politics are different matters is harmful and profoundly erroneous, as is the view that Western youth shows total political indifference. Not so long ago I had the occasion to perform concerts in several Western European countries. I was accompanied by a youth orchestra from Sweden. It is true that at first the young musicians gave the impression of total political apathy or even conservatism. However, concert after concert I attentively noted their gradual change of mood. As they performed political songs, they could see the way the audience sincerely reacted to the lyrics and the melody. It was as though this reaction, as though reflecting the light, was melting the cold and indifference of the musicians themselves. Toward the end the lack of understanding which was so tensing no longer existed between me and the orchestra. Young people mature rapidly in the modern world, morally and politically above all. Recently I received from Sweden a letter in which my new friends requested my agreement to name their orchestra after me. It was not a matter of whose name they would choose. What mattered was that this would be an orchestra performing political songs.

Music and songs perform a tremendous educational mission. However, this is achieved only wherever and whenever they are clearly and unequivocally aimed against bourgeois "mass" or "elitist" culture, with its idea-mindlessness or particular "anti-idealism." In composing the oratorio "Universal Song," based on Pablo Neruda's poetry, I tried to make my contribution to the struggle for humanism in art. I shall never forget the performance of this oratorio by the Cuban choir and orchestra. After the concert, all of us--some 200 musicians in all--went to Nicaragua. Was this a fact of cultural life or a political action? I am not sure, but I think it was both, for throughout this trip to Cuba and Nicaragua I felt myself a composer and a communist or, rather, a composer-communist.

I had the same feeling in Lebanon, during my last two trips to that country. The first took place before the tragic events of the autumn of 1982, while the other was at the height of the battles. I saw with my own eyes how the mask fell off the true face of imperialism which was trying to regain its weakened domination through the fire and the sword. The Beirut events confirmed my opinion that the sole direct predecessor of the Israeli military was Hitlerite fascism. Whatever the current situation in Lebanon may be I am deeply convinced that the roots of a rebirth in the future exist in that country. The Lebanese patriots and the Palestinian people are acquiring political wisdom and drawing major lessons from these events. What is most important is that prospects exist. The PLO awarded me the great honor of asking me to write the national anthem of the Palestinian people. In it I

tried to express all my feelings of love and respect for this suffering people. The faith that perhaps to this day it is sung in the camps of the Palestinian refugees, among those who had left their homeland and family, warms me up, inspires me during periods of creative doubts.

The Moscow ceremonies on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, in which I was happy to participate, were unquestionably political in nature. I feel particularly close to this. In my view, they were most clearly a manifestation of two of the most important features of our time: the power and unity of the Soviet people, rallied around the communist party, and the unity of the international communist and worker movements and of all progressive forces rallied around the Soviet Union. More than 130 foreign delegations deemed it their duty to demonstrate their respect, gratitude and love for the land of the soviets, the country of the Great October. It was not merely a matter of the number of guests but of the unity of thought shared by the communists the world over and the representatives of progressive movements. This particularly touched me both as an artist and a communist.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was and remains a most important and determining event of our age. Again and again I realize that the revolution is developing and is historically invincible. I am convinced that the inner mechanisms of the wave of anti-Sovietism which has risen in the West in recent years is already losing its strength. The international solidarity of the forces of progress rallied around the Soviet Union and the socialist revolution is a reality. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR reasserted this truth and it is in this that we find its historical significance. The report submitted by Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, clearly sounded two interdefining and interdependent thoughts: the Soviet people have the inflexible will to win the cause of communism and the Soviet Union fears nothing, looking at the future soberly and farsightedly. This is the first. The second is that the Soviet people need peace, they need effective talks and international cooperation. This is confirmed by the specific proposals formulated by Yu. V. Andropov at the Kremlin celebrations. I have felt most clearly a witness to and participant in a Historical event in which the word historical is capitalized.

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SOVIET EXPERIENCE AND CANADIAN REALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 58-64

[Article by William Kashtan, Communist Party of Canada secretary general]

[Text] The creation of the USSR was a truly historical event directly related to the victory of the Great October Revolution. The October Revolution put an end to the exploitation of man by man and opened the way to building a socialist social system. The founding of the Soviet Union--a multinational socialist state based on equality among sovereign nations--in 1922 marked an essentially new historical solution to the national problem, reached in a country which, shortly before that, was known as the "jail of the nations."

Such a solution was entirely consistent with the basic Leninist ideas of the voluntary union among nations, a union which would exclude any coercion whatever on the part of one nation over another, a union based on complete trust and clear recognition of fraternal unity. V. I. Lenin proceeded from the fact that the elimination of national oppression needed a new foundation, i.e., a socialist production system and the organization of a state resting on democratic principles.

Such an alliance was needed in order to protect the republics in a state of capitalist encirclement, to rebuild the destroyed national economy and to lay the foundations for a unified planned national economy.

The Leninist national policy passed the test of time.

The international significance of the founding of the USSR lies in the establishment of a qualitatively new type of relations among nations, based on equality, justice and friendship. The Soviet Union proved, in both theory and practice, that the struggle for the true solution of the national problem cannot be separated from the struggle for the social liberation of the working people, for national oppression and inequality are products of a system based on the exploitation of man by man. Capitalism is unable to resolve in any way systematically the national problem. Socialism alone can deal with this problem which is among the most complex, and indeed does so.

Real equality among nations presumes a true guarantee of the right of self-determination, including the creation of an independent state, free choice of an economic and social system, and sovereignty in establishing relations with other countries and nations. The 60 years of existence of the Soviet Union

proved that the voluntary and equal union among nations alone can provide a firm political foundation for a multinational state.

The U.S.S.R welcomed the 60th anniversary of its founding with the tremendous socioeconomic achievements of all its republics, proving the blossoming of their national cultures and arts. The implementation of this truly historical task--the creation of an opportunity for the blossoming of all nations and their cultures--is the permanent exclusive merit of socialism.

Faced with this reality, what can one say of the false claims made by imperialist propaganda about the "Russification" of the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union? No, it is not in the Soviet Union that we should seek examples of coercive assimilation. It is not here that acts of genocide are being committed toward native populations; it is not here that the right to self-determination is suppressed through mass murder, as is being done to the Arab people of Palestine, apartheid, practiced in South Africa, or anti-black racism and discrimination as in the United States. All of this is characteristic of imperialism.

The Leninist solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union is of universal significance. It continues to have a tremendous impact on the struggle waged by the oppressed peoples against imperialism, racism and discrimination and for freedom and independence.

The national problem is acquiring increasing gravity under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism and the efforts of American imperialism to resolve its crisis at the expense of other nations, their sovereignty, economic independence and natural resources.

The aggressive strategy of U.S. imperialism is aimed not only against peoples and countries which refuse to obey imperialist diktat and coercion. It also undermines the sovereignty of U.S. allies and subordinate their policies to the interests of the reactionary forces of American imperialism. Therefore, the struggle for the defense of sovereignty is becoming increasingly interwoven with the solution of social problems and the reorganization of social relations.

The solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union is of great importance to Canada, which is faced with an entire set of complex national problems: aggravated relations with the United States and between French and Anglo-Canadians, discrimination against ethnic communities and, not the least, the refusal to grant the native populations their legitimate rights. All of these problems combined confirm that Canada is not a "melting pot" in which all nations are resmelted into a "single nation." Under Canadian conditions the solution of the national problem is not a secondary but one of the key problems in the struggle for socialism.

"The Path to Socialism in Canada," our party's program, discusses comprehensively this entire range of problems.

the country. The country is a vast, open plain, with a few scattered hills and mountains. The climate is hot and dry, with a long, hot summer and a short, hot winter. The population is small, and the country is sparsely populated. The country is a rich source of minerals, and the government is working to develop these resources. The country is a member of the Organization of American States, and it is working to improve its relations with the other countries in the region. The country is a developing country, and it is working to improve its economy and its infrastructure. The country is a democratic country, and it is working to improve its political system. The country is a peaceful country, and it is working to improve its social system. The country is a country that is full of life and hope, and it is a country that is full of potential.

[illegible]

withdrawal from NATO and NORAD (the joint anti-aircraft defense command of North America--the editor).

Therefore, the struggle for ending the arms race and disarmament is also a struggle for the creation of the most favorable conditions for strengthening Canada's real independence and sovereignty.

The economic crisis is aggravating even further the contradictions between the United States and Canada and is worsening their interrelationship. The United States' aspiration toward protectionism worsens this situation. The struggle for Canadizing economic policy, culture and foreign policy, and for sovereignty and true independence is becoming strongly directed against American imperialism and includes a national element. That is precisely why it could become an essential political factor in the forthcoming period.

Our party has a different assessment of the advantages of Canadization compared with the national bourgeoisie, which considers it an opportunity for strengthening the control of Canadian monopolies over the economy. The communist party is struggling for Canadization on the basis of the nationalization of and control over key economic sectors. Actually, this is possible only if an antimonopoly government is in power.

The abolishment of American domination and a subsequent Canadization policy through the nationalization of key economic sectors are hindered by the unresolved national problem in Canada itself, expressed in relations between Anglo-Canadians and French-Canadians. A democratic solution of the national problem can be reached only within the framework of a common struggle against the monopolies and multinational corporations. The struggle for national equality is an important component of the struggle for democracy waged by the Canadian working people as a whole.

Therefore, the struggle for granting the French-Canadian nation the right to self-determination is part of the struggle against American domination, for an independent, united and sovereign Canada and for the creation of a democratic, antimonopoly and anti-imperialist coalition.

Unlike the Soviet Union, in which the national problem as it exists in the bourgeois society was resolved once and forever, the unequal relations between Anglo-Canadians and French-Canadians are a source of constant conflict. The national problem is a historical problem facing Canada.

The Canadian constitution, based on the British North America Act, is unable to resolve the national problem. It does not recognize the fact that the French Canadians are a nation. The constitution denies the French Canadians the right to self-determination and equality. It substitutes for the collective rights of the nation individual rights as stipulated in the Bill of Rights approved by the Parliament. However, the Bill of Rights totally ignores the right to work, health care, education and housing. Although it bans discrimination based on race, nationality, color, religion, sex, age and ability to work, the stipulation will not become effective for another 3 years. Furthermore, the federal and provincial governments can simply ignore such guarantees of equality.

The constitution, which was a compromise of conflicting interests of different monopoly circles and which reflects their chauvinistic attitude toward the national rights of the French Canadians, is fully consistent with the general course followed by the government, which is refusing equality to the French Canadians and which is substituting the principle of bilingualism and multiculturalism for a binational state. Instead of eliminating the crisis in relations between British and French Canada and achieving national unity, such a "solution" aggravates relations between them and weakens the political unity of either nation.

Quebec is the only province which refused to ratify and support the Canadian constitution; many French Canadians characterize it as the constitution of British Canada rather than as a truly all-Canadian constitution. Explaining the refusal to ratify the constitution, R. Levesque, the prime minister of Quebec Province, said: "There is a double Canada, there are two nations in our country; there are two nations which founded Canada and which are essentially equal, and Quebec is a separate society." "The constitution," he concluded, "is an insult to Quebec on the part of British Canada."

The most likely prospect in the development of relations between French and British Canadians, intensified by the economic crisis, is their further aggravation. In terms of the level of unemployment Quebec is second among the Canadian provinces. This indicator is a true reflection of the economic inequality on which the national problem is based. We must bear in mind that together with U.S. companies, the Quebec economy is controlled by the Anglo-Canadian minority in that province, which is in industry and banking, whereas the French Canadian majority is the harmed stratum with a relatively lower income and worse chances for career promotion, accounting for the bulk of the unemployed.

The Communist Party of Canada has struggled and is continuing to struggle for a voluntary union between two equal nations--the Anglo-Canadians and the French Canadians--within an independent sovereign binational state based on a truly firm foundation of equality, which can be secured only as a result of structural and economic changes.

The structural changes supported by the communist party call for the creation of a federal republic with a parliament consisting of two chambers--one modeled on the current House of Commons with a representation in proportion of the population, and a second (instead of the current nonelected Senate) which would consist of an equal number of elected representatives of each of the two nations. Each house should have the equal right to initiate legislation and draft laws should be passed by both houses before becoming law. Such a structure would protect the democratic principles and the equal rights of nations regardless of their size.

The economic rights should include the rights to work, health care, education and housing. All manifestations of racism and discrimination would be eliminated. The democratic rights of all and the right to one's own language and culture would be guaranteed.

Our party opposes the solution supported by the separatists, i.e., the secession of Quebec. The desire for secession is nothing but a manifestation of petit bourgeois nationalism among the French Canadians.

In our view the right to secession should not be confused with the question of its expediency under some circumstances. The interests of the Canadian working class of both our nations would be better guaranteed in a large and strong state created on a voluntary and truly democratic basis. The secession of Quebec would weaken the political unity of the working class in the struggle against the common enemy--monopoly capital and Canadian and American imperialism--and for radical social changes. The true national interests of the French Canadians and the Anglo-Canadians, and the preservation of their languages and cultures would be ensured best within a Canada united on the basis of total national equality.

The way to surmount the old mistrust, frictions and hurts which divide the two nations lies through supporting the democratic forces of English-speaking Canada, acknowledging the right of French Canada to self-determination and support on the part of the democratic forces in French Canada of the unification of the peoples of both nations against the common enemy--the Canadian monopolies and American imperialism. Only a united Canada, defending the national rights of the French Canadians, could successfully struggle for the strengthening of its independence and against the coercion of American imperialism. Therefore, the communist party stands on strong positions by stating that "Canada cannot be united without Quebec and will not be independent without such unity."

The justice of our position is also emphasized in a way by the extent of the treacherous objectives pursued by U.S. imperialism in this connection. We do not ignore the way in which it is supporting Quebec separatism and the separatism of Western Canada, which has huge natural resources, directly or indirectly, through its "Trojan horse"--the multinational corporations. It is in this manner that U.S. imperialism is trying to undermine Canadian independence and intensify its control over Canadian economic and foreign policy even further.

Canadian monopoly capital as well cannot resolve the national problem which it created. It is unable to guarantee true democratic rights to the Canadian people. In the final account, socialism alone can settle the Canadian issue in its entirety by eliminating class antagonisms. This is the most solid foundation for the elimination of all oppression and inequality.

While refusing to resolve the national problem, the monopolies are also pursuing a policy of "divide and conquer," seeing to it that the working class remains divided.

Immigrant workers, who account for a considerable share of the population, are continuing to suffer from cruel discrimination and capitalist super-exploitation, which in their case means lower wages, worse living and working conditions and the sway of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism. Racism, chauvinism and superexploitation are the features which characterize monopoly policy.

This is manifested particularly clearly in the case of the native Canadian population, which numbers more than 1 million. The native population has been deprived of its lands and has been exiled to reservations, deprived of equal citizenship and self-administration rights.

The solution of the national problem in Canada should also call for granting the native populations the right to their own land and self-management as individual nations, with full protection of their languages and cultures and granting them the same civil rights enjoyed by all Canadians.

The current Indian Act is a juridical manifestation of the system of oppression and racial discrimination to which Indians and Inuites (as the Canadian Eskimo call themselves--the editor) are subjected. Horrifying living conditions, pitiful health care and education, unrestrained racial discrimination, suppression of linguistic and cultural heritage and coercive assimilation into a white society are the realities of daily life of the native population.

The situation of the native population would have continued unchanged but for the fact that it has land rich in petroleum and a great variety of minerals. The purpose of the authorities, federal and provincial, and of the multinational corporations is to force the native population to abandon its lands for a pittance.

As a manifestation of this wish, the federal government has formulated a program which would expel the native population, the Indians in particular, from its lands for the sake of integrating it within the white man's society. Wherever such "integration" has taken place it has brought about the total degradation of the native population. Naturally, such plans have triggered sharp objections which forced the government to take into consideration the demands of the native population and somehow to react to the fact that these rights are totally ignored in the Canadian constitution. Under their pressure, added to the demands of the democratic public, the federal and provincial governments were forced to promise that the demands of the native populations will be considered at a conference on constitutional problems, scheduled for the beginning of 1983.

The communist party calls for a clear recognition of the originality of the Indian people and their right to self-administration in all the areas where Indians account for the majority of the population, and to control over their lands and their minerals.

Currently this struggle has reached a new stage. The communist party, which is actively involved in it, is also pointing out the way the national problem was resolved under socialism and the positive results which this solution brought to nations which since time immemorial lived a nomad life and had no literary and cultural.

In maintaining its position on the national problem, the communist party steadily relies on Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the rich experience of the Soviet Union, bearing in mind the specifically Canadian conditions. The communist party always remembers Lenin's stipulation to the effect that the

national problem is subordinated to the class problem, for which reason the establishment of the power of the working class and its allies and the building of socialism are the only guarantees for surmounting national antagonisms once and for all.

On this basis our party opposes all nihilism concerning the national problem, great-power chauvinism and national exclusivity which leads to bourgeois nationalism and away from socialism.

The 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR is an inspiring example of how the national problem can be resolved and new relations of equality among nations can be established. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR is a powerful confirmation of the correctness of Leninism, the Leninist solution of the national problem and its profound internationalism. It is also a judgment passed on imperialism and its policy of national oppression, racism, discrimination and war.

Unquestionably, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR will contribute to increasing the struggle waged by the peoples against imperialism, for equality, social progress and peace throughout the world.

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FESTIVAL OF FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 65-67

[Article by Gastone Pasolini, deputy secretary general, San Marino Communist Party]

[Text] Slightly more than 60 years ago, many republics in the Soviet Union, which have now reached the peaks of social progress, were feudal provinces with an illiterate population, living under conditions of total backwardness and slavery. Dozens of nationalities were even deprived of the very possibility of rescuing themselves from their poverty and improving their inhuman living conditions caused by a large class of big landowners who acquired their huge estates and wealth through the merciless oppression of the peoples.

Only one historical event could totally change this situation. This event was the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was led to victory through Lenin's wise genius. The revolution broke down the czarist empire, thus offering to the Russian people from the very beginning the possibility of making most profound changes and building a society based on equality and freedom, and, subsequently, giving the hope for a better future to the other nations. The hope of freedom for the oppressed peoples spread throughout the world.

The day of 30 December 1922, which was 5 years after the great and victorious revolution, the day on which the USSR was founded, was a truly historical milestone.

The Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics was based on the desire of the peoples for unity, friendship and cooperation and the principles of total voluntary unification. Each republic, through its own possibilities, culture and resources, contributed to the common progress of the new socialist societies.

As I am still under the impressions of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, I can only express my feelings of profound satisfaction and admiration of the heroic Russian people for its ability not only to accomplish so much for itself within such a short time, but for the tremendous contribution which it has made to the liberation of other peoples from backwardness and exploitation to which they were subjected and their struggle for freedom and independence.

I am deeply convinced that without the Great October Socialist Revolution many peoples in the former czarist Russia, particularly those in the outlying areas on the Asian continent, would have still been living under the conditions of backwardness of 60 years ago. This means that they would have been deprived of the possibility of proving themselves as nations.

Two other very important aspects are the subject of my admiration.

I learned from the report submitted by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the speeches by comrades representing the various republics, that output in a great variety of economic sectors has increased dozens and hundreds of times compared with 60 years ago. However, how many sacrifices had to be made by the peoples of the Soviet Union and how dedicatedly they worked to create the great and invincible Soviet Union!

I was also profoundly touched by the feelings of tremendous gratitude which the representatives of the different republics expressed with such sincerity and directness for the continuing and decisive aid given them by the Russian people. It is perfectly accurate on their part to describe the Russian people as their elder brothers, for it is precisely the Russian people who led them to their successes while, at the same time, laying the foundations for further accomplishments, particularly in terms of the steady increase in the well-being of all peoples in the Soviet Union.

Dear comrade Soviet citizens! One cannot fail to express one's admiration at the fact that despite the large number of nations and nationalities which inhabit your country and the multiplicity of historical and national differences, the Soviet Union is an inviolable multinational state in which all nations are united and equal in any and all things. It is precisely this that made it possible to transform a backward country into a highly economically, industrially, technologically and culturally developed state which, within the short 60-year period, became one of the most developed countries in the world, having ensured the stable and steady growth and development of all its republics.

The regimes which pursued a steady anti-Soviet and antisocialist policy such as, for example, the Nazi-fascist government, claimed that the successes achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union were nothing but propaganda and that in fact this union among socialist republics was nothing but a "giant with feet of clay," which would collapse at the slightest push. Historical facts proved the exact opposite and the falsehood of this propaganda, as well as the great love of the Soviet peoples for their homeland. This was confirmed by the heroic struggle against fascism, the incalculable losses suffered by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the destruction of its cities and villages. All of these sacrifices were made not only for the sake of defending their own country but also to finish the enemy in its lair, thus liberating Europe from fascism. More than 20 million young lives was the tremendous price which the Soviet people paid for the freedom of the peoples and for peace among them.

It is only by realizing all of this that it is possible to understand how honestly and sincerely the Soviet people, as represented by its leaders, speaks of peace throughout the world. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov reemphasized in his report the will and resolve of the Soviet Union to apply all efforts for the sake of a controlled general reduction of armaments on the lowest possible level. He expressed the readiness of the USSR considerably to reduce the number of its nuclear missiles.

It is precisely these proposals that prove yet once again the firm intention of the Soviet leaders to take everything into consideration for the sake of preserving peace and enabling the other side to join in the talks.

I am deeply convinced that the formulated proposals are one more important step on the way to peace, disarmament and cooperation among all states. Now it is the West's turn to consider these proposals most seriously, to think them over and to answer them sensibly. Unless this takes place, and if conservative and reactionary forces in the capitalist world once again gain the upper hand over those who aspire for peace in these countries as well, Europe and the entire world will be aware of who is to blame for the fact that no peaceful solution can be reached, that no agreement on limiting and reducing nuclear missiles will be concluded and that once again the world will take the path of thermonuclear rearmament, which is a most serious threat to peace throughout the world.

To us, the population and the communists in one of the smallest countries in the world, as a party and government force, there simply is no alternative to speaking out at all international gatherings at which we are represented in favor of detente and peace. At the Madrid conference, through its representatives and within the framework of the nonaligned countries, our state favors the defense and support of forces fighting for a controllable balanced disarmament on the lowest possible level and demands a reduction in the size of the armed forces deployed in Europe. This will provide the only true guarantee for lasting peace and a tranquil future for all nations.

Our party, which is a part of the majority in the leftist San Marino government, has systematically pursued in its foreign policy and in meetings with fraternal parties and national liberation movements, the line which I already mentioned, in the interest of all nations, on the basis of international solidarity and cooperation among parties and peoples in a spirit of respect for all peoples and countries on the basis of equal rights, true equality, independence, sovereignty and nonintervention in domestic affairs.

The prospect of a free future under democratic and peaceful conditions is the only specific guarantee for the existence and prosperity of small countries such as San Marino.

In concluding my impressions of the splendid holiday on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the voluntary establishment of the USSR, allow me to reemphasize the position of the San Marino Communist Party in the face of the major danger of armed conflicts which could bring about a third world war: once again we support the demand of waging a systematic struggle for peace

and disarmament. We believe that the new specific proposals submitted by the Soviet government to the governments of the capitalist countries are a very positive factor which brings hope to all mankind. In order for the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries not to be wasted, all peoples must speak out. We, the San Marino communists, represented by our government, as one of the nonaligned and neutral countries, are struggling for the world to follow the path of detente and cooperation. I deem it important to repeat that the proposals submitted by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov represent a real contribution to disarmament and an end to the arms race. From my viewpoint these proposals greatly facilitate the work of the Madrid conference and contribute to the successful talks on reducing armaments in Vienna. They make it possible to resolve arising disputes not through the force of arms but through peaceful talks among the parties.

In its own country, following this path and struggling for these objectives, the San Marino Communist Party is promoting unity among leftist forces. In the international arena, we realize that the efforts of Europe and countries in other continents should contribute to the dialogue, unification and cohesion of all progressive forces in defending and preserving peace and ensuring the economic and social progress of all mankind.

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AMERICAN FRONT IN ALPS IN FRONT OF LATIN AMERICA

THEORY OF THE AMERICAN FRONT IN ALPS IN FRONT OF LATIN AMERICA

[Article by Manuel Cepeda, Colombian Communist Party Central Committee executive committee member and director of Voz Proletaria, organ of the C.P.]

Today the peoples of Latin America, where the struggle among political and social forces has become extremely heated, celebrated the 60th anniversary of the founding of the great multinational Soviet state along with all progressive humanity. The primary problem in this struggle--the problem of national liberation, which was resolved for the first time in history as a result of the October Revolution--has become the demarcation line on each side of which are the forces of U.S. neocolonialism and those favoring the independence of the Latin American peoples. We can confidently say that at the start of the 1980s, which was marked by the successful Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, the forces fighting for radical changes are achieving increasing success and, as the institutions of imperialist rule become undermined, new solutions are being sought for this problem on the basis of the experience of the Soviet state in implementing radical social changes. We are witnessing a new stage in the increasingly aggravated political and economic structural crisis which is shaking our continent.

Exploitation, which has become a chronic phenomenon, the unparalleled scale of unemployment, the unattained drop in the level of wages and the vertical growth of prices, and the predatory plunder of raw materials in the developing countries point to the fact that even the leading strata in the ruling classes are increasingly looking at the dark prospects facing the development of their own countries and are forced to adopt a critical attitude toward the course imposed by Washington. Slumbering reactionary concepts of chauvinism, racism, the "superpower" theory, and others, are experiencing an unparalleled crisis. The "backward continents" have emerged in the arena of struggle, raising with the banner of movements joined by millions and millions of people.

According to the old concepts existing in the imperialist countries, with Africa, Asia, and Latin America have been assigned the historical role of rear sectors and "dependents." Restrained by the slickness of its irrational concepts, imperialism is unable either to understand the new deployment of forces and the developed internal unity or to assess the noble thoughts of peoples who are trying to find a solution to the situation which has arisen.

The ruling classes in Latin America are resorting to increasingly repressive measures in an effort to preserve their positions, violating all legal norms and going so far as to deserve the name of fascist. The most dangerous fact facing the capitalists, however, is that they are playing with fire, for the intensification of the struggle will inevitably result in the fact that their historical enemy will be forced himself to resort to radical measures and to expand the framework of his counteraction.

The efforts of imperialism, which is playing a dangerous political game by threatening the world with thermonuclear war, its desire to throw the development of the continent back to the level of previous centuries, while retaining the ancient "mother country-colony" system, are doomed to failure. In the overall balance of ratio of forces in the world, the nature of global politics is already now defined by new contours and lines.

For the first time in history the forces of socialism have achieved military parity with capitalism.

The defeat of imperialism in Indochina brought about profound consequences.

The revolutionary development in Latin America is continuing to advance along untraveled paths.

Reagan's policy of "economic embargo" is the latest in a series of attempts; a number of doctrines with the help of which imperialism tried to ward off the consequences of the crisis have failed entirely ("integration" and "alliance" with a view to developing the economies of the Latin American countries and the United States, "harmonious" market development controlled by Washington, and all kinds of reformist "models" such as the Caribbean Development Plan).

A new type of international relations is drawing the attention of the Latin American peoples and governments. The policy of selfless aid given by the USSR to Latin American countries, specifically Cuba, has been subjected to particular development over the past decade.

The revolutionary upsurge which has appeared once again can draw on the example of socialist Cuba. The American imperialists kept tirelessly repeating that they would not allow "another Cuba" on the continent at any cost and indeed they have not abandoned their plans of harming anyone who rejects their yoke. However, despite such a shortsighted conceit, Cuba was followed by Grenada and Nicaragua. Furthermore, ever-new lines up the map which Washington has imposed on the continent are becoming weaker and weaker.

Millions of Latin Americans clearly see the fraternal ties existing between the Island of Freedom and the great Soviet Union. It can be said that not only the socialist revolution "has learned to speak Spanish," but that USSR internationalism as well has turned out to be formulated into Spanish.

For decades the United States preached a profoundly racist and discriminatory concept according to which the Latin American nations are suited only for the

2. That the Commission has been told that there is a strong possibility that some individuals have been paid, indirectly, to help in the investigation. "Money" has been given to individuals, only in the form of an honorarium. The Commission believes that this is an expression of the same gift by the Government to the individual. It is not intended that the Commission there will remain independent and that actions which will lead to a conclusion. Anyways, we must get some facts which matter to the Commission. We are interested.

Don Adams' research was inspired by Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," but in the novel it was the scientist — a spy — who led Latin America to the high road. The seeds of freedom were sown for the people of Latin America by the hand of the scientist and not the priest. With my research I think will, thus brilliantly analyzing the concept of the "Scientific Revolution" in the 19th century.

and support the workers, the court, and the people of Latin America. This should include a complete phase of "new socialism" dedicating the imperialist class to the "left". The consequence of this is the desire to appear clearly and openly as the "new Trotskyists".

Quesada, J. L. (1997). The effects of the 1995 earthquake on the post-earthquake population of Mexico City. *Journal of Earthquake Engineering and Technology*, 1(1), 1-10.

Therefore, the peasantry, which had been backward and illiterate, made a formal declaration and became the backbone of the new Soviet Union. It opened the way for the economic, political, and cultural growth of Russia, which had lived for centuries in a state of backwardness and stagnation.

That is how a new attitude developed. Initially unfavorable to Russia, it changed to intensifying and becoming a factor of development. All economic, scientific, and cultural activities became a factor of development. A number of national minorities, which had been suppressed and developed, claimed their rights. The possibility of education, the Oriental people who had been in a feudal past, who were totally without rights and oppressed, opened under the Soviet system their own museums, academies and universities, began to publish their own works and appeared on the scene of the world in the 20th century as their national cultures.

This path is very instructive for Latin America, a number of countries, nationalities and national minorities. The Latin American population has not suffered from heir to an extremely rich but suppressed past - means the Latin American of capitalist exploitation and landowners' oppression. As before, the native population remains unquestionably present in our countries, present as they have been refused even the most basic rights and rights to life, health, property, occupied by the estate owners, the right to self-administration and administration of customs and the right to power in the Latin American and Latin America.

Therefore, the Latin American people must understand that the Latin American will inevitably have to enter the entire stage of capitalist development before also following it, changing the system and then, after that, moving to the stage of capitalist development in Latin America. We are told that Latin America is an inevitable ill.

However, the 67 years of Soviet system and 60 years of existence of the USSR totally reject all such theories of backwardness, lack of culture and civilization. The USSR eliminated illiteracy and accomplished a cultural revolution which, through the channels of education and science, revolutionized the Latin American situation.

In other words, by virtue of its own existence, material progress and the community of peoples, the USSR has become an example of true freedom, independence and true equality among nations. This also explains why throughout the world, this time Latin America has concentrated all its strength and all the forces, comes against the USSR.

The point is that the Latin American and propagandists of capitalism, who praise it as an inflexible system, are being united in the face of reality. What became of the thesis to the effect that nothing can be changed - what became of the claim that illiteracy is inevitable - what became of the claim that prostitution is ineradicable? What is the worth of the claim of the existence of inferior races, a doctrine to which "Latin Americans," "inferiors," have the responsibility in - (presumably, great capitalists and illiterate category of the selection of economic modernization).

[illegible][illegible]

Whereas in the Colombian example this feature turns into tragedy, in Tajikistan science, collective mutual aid and fraternal cooperation with the other Soviet republics have become a lever which can move mountains. The true reason for this difference is found in the ruling system of each country. Capitalism in Colombia claims that nothing can be done. Socialism in the USSR says that anything can be done. Everything can be predicted and everything can be changed for the good of man.

The republic produces cotton. Several years ago, previously barren lands were converted into fertile cotton fields thanks to an irrigation system, thus lifting Tajikistan up into the ranks of the largest cotton producers in the USSR. Colombia is traditionally a cotton-growing country. Cotton is the base for its main industrial sector--the textile industry. However, whereas Tajikistan is wresting the land from the desert in order to grow cotton, in Colombia large areas on which cotton has been grown for decades remain unused currently. Why? Because imports of semifinished cotton goods from the United States put an end to our cotton production. The textile industry is in the hands of the capitalists, ruined thousands and thousands of peasants. What a striking contrast between what I just said and a previously backward republic such as Tajikistan! How is such a situation possible on one side of the planet and not on the other? Only because there is socialism in one of the countries, whereas the other is under the rule of U.S. imperialist monopolies.

I had the occasion to visit two museums in Tajikistan: the Ar Hives of Ancient Manuscripts of the Tajik Academy of Sciences in Dushanbe and the Labor Glory Museum in a kolkhoz in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast.

The archives contain priceless manuscripts, ranging from the poems of the great Rudaki, the father of classical Tajik-Persian literature, to the works of Ayni, the founder of modern literature.

The other has no less exciting exhibits: primitive farming tools, wooden plows and clay utensils--the things which the people brought to the kolkhoz when it was founded. Next to them stand the portraits of the first kolkhoz members who opened the road to the kolkhoz movement in the republic.

Looking at these unforgettable collections, I unwittingly thought of Latin America, where there lives a person named Gabriel Garcia Marquez, a Colombian writer and laureate of the Nobel Prize for literature, who was forced to abandon Colombia, his homeland, under the threat of physical annihilation on the part of fascist-leaning thugs. I also recalled other Latin American writers who were also forced to seek shelter abroad. I thought of the peasants who are still using the wooden plow and fighting under most difficult conditions for land and who are so far today from the sources of culture and the museums in which one day the epic struggle waged by the workers and peasants of Latin America will be inevitably reflected.

Socialism proved itself capable of predicting earthquakes. It proved itself able to make the desert bloom. It proved itself able to create museums and writers and peasants. How greatly all of this is needed by our people!

The first of these is the fact that the...
The second is the fact that the...
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The fifth is the fact that the...

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Naturally, all of these facts are quite disparate and unconnected. Their common meaning, however, proves the bankruptcy of the American imperialism wanted to impose upon Latin America.

At this point it becomes particularly pertinent to mention the war in the South Atlantic. The war on the Malvinas had been decided. Starting in 1982 America. The main feature here was not Malvinas, but the fact that the stability of "pan American nationalism" was at the time proved threatened, as did the fate of another important instrument of imperialist policy as the Inter American Market for the Caribbean, which had existed since cold war times and whose purpose was to block the "protectionist" continental communist interference.

However, such "extraterritorial interference" was not the doing of a communist country! It was done by an old colonial power with the U.S. supporting this aggression against its "loyal" allies--the Argentine capitalists....

Therefore, the entire U.S. policy, including the one pursued with the help of the OAS, is in a state of crisis. The bourgeois Latin American governments raised the question of the need for a major review of all pan-American structures, going so far as to formulate the thesis of an OAS without the United States. The topic of sovereignty, which had been neglected on our continent, was sounded again. Instantaneously all masks were stripped and U.S. imperialism appeared in all its aggressiveness and ferocity, shouting aside the Inter-American Treaty and fully initiating an aggressive war against a Latin American nation. The Latin American peoples clearly realized that, in its own demagoguery notwithstanding, the United States is acting exclusively in pursuit of its selfish interests.

At the same time, it clearly proved who the true friends of Latin America were: the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the movement of non-aligned countries, and the other progressive forces in the world. This means that it is the friendship of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and the support of the other progressive forces in the world, that are the key to the success of the Latin American people's struggle for their own liberation.

What is the essence of this new edition?

We believe that its present and emerging developments in the field of industrialization of the structural problems facing the continent. The common factor (a) demand of the Latin American peoples for expansion and the immediate solution of major regional problems: cooperation, peace and development. It is reiterated, the task of recording relations with the United States and other leading countries' interference, including put on the agenda.

Therefore, we will let the Latin American peoples be deciding the "truth" and move forward the initiative in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Against the fact that the 1997 election showed a clear trend towards support for the Colombian Communist Party Congress, which was held in November 1996, it

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the subject of the study. It discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. It includes information about the sample size, the data collection methods, and the statistical analysis techniques.

3. The third part of the report is a presentation of the results of the study. It includes tables, figures, and text describing the findings of the research.

4. The fourth part of the report is a discussion of the results and their implications. It discusses the strengths and limitations of the study and provides suggestions for future research.

5. The fifth part of the report is a conclusion that summarizes the main findings of the study and provides a final statement on the importance of the research.

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masses and forces them to act. Therefore, major class battles and tumultuous actions on the part of the popular masses are approaching in Colombia.

The worsened situation of the Colombian economy is reflected above all in the situation of the working people. That is why in the 3 months that Betancour has been president, almost 50 major strikes have taken place in the country involving almost 1 million people, demanding immediate change.

In the final account, it is these facts that explain why the presidential nominee of the conservative party, which drew up a right-wing electoral program, was forced to change course. Today the Colombian bourgeoisie faces a dilemma: it must either introduce some variants in its policies or face the aggravation of the class struggle in a country in which the struggle is being waged simultaneously in a variety of forms, including the guerrilla armed struggle.

The following extremely important feature may be noted in the center of this entire panoramic picture: in the final account, the struggle waged by the toiling and popular masses in Colombia is aimed against the imperialist monopolies and the plundering of our country by the multinational corporations. It is a problem of the fate of our people and country, a problem of choosing a way, either subordination to the United States or the search for a new orientation as indicated by the Soviet Union over the past 60 years.

Can we claim in advance, at this moment fraught with such great danger, that the positive elements in the national situation will prevail over the threat of attempts to resolve the problem through repressive measures?

No, not as yet. All we can say is that the masses have no faith in obsolete formulas and are persistently asking for solutions. That is precisely why the oligarchy is resorting to repressions which it combines with reformist formulas.

Naturally, the various ruling circles in the United States realize that the path of increasing tension should not be followed, for this would widen the gap which separates the United States from our peoples, as was the case with the Malvinas conflict. However, the only salvation when dealing with militarists such as Gbagui lies in being prepared and in developing a powerful mass movement.

Two possibilities were pointed out at the 11th Colombian Communist Party Congress: a democratic solution and a progressive political reform, which could open the way to democratization, or the prevalence of capitalist and despotic forces. In the latter case our people would energize the combination of all forms of struggle for its liberation--armed and unarmed.

In the course of the 60 years of existence of the Soviet Union and 40 years since the great October Revolution, the ideas stemming from these great events are of major significance to the peoples of our continent. They consider the USSR a source of inspiration and hope, particularly in view of during such a unique moment of historical development in Latin America.

We can now say that the "Santa Fe Doctrine," the doctrine of aggression against all Latin American peoples, did not help the Reagan administration. The so-called U.S. "global policy," based on the idea of confrontation "from a position of strength," is suffering one failure after another. At the present crossroads in the world the topic of the struggle for peace throughout the world, which is so promising yet so dangerous, is the main one. Under these circumstances, the peoples of Latin America are discovering with increasing frequency that the principled Leninist policy of the USSR is a reliable compass.

Extensive debates are taking place in Latin America on some kind of "new model" suitable to our countries. The authors of this "new model" should mandatorily study the way the USSR resolved basic social problems, including the national one. This is the best means for understanding the particular, the vitally important significance which the truly historical experience acquired by the peoples of the Soviet Union on its 60th anniversary has to the peoples on our continent.

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VICTORY ON THE VOLGA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 1-23

[Article by Army General and Twice Hero of the Soviet Union D. Ielvushenko, written on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Battle for Stalingrad]

[Text] The defeat of the German-fascist forces at Stalingrad plays a particular role not only in the Great Patriotic War but in all of World War II. It was precisely the victory on the Volga that marked the beginning of a radical turn in our favor. Essentially, this victory was an extension of the victory at Moscow. Stalingrad became the symbol of the invincibility of the Red Army. It made the entire world realize that the land of the soviets, created by the great Lenin, and its heroic people could not be crushed.

The Stalingrad Battle consisted of two periods: the defensive--from 17 July to 18 November 1942--and the offensive--from 19 November 1942 to 2 February 1943.

A breathing spell occurred in the spring of 1942. The belligerents were preparing for major new battles. Following their defeat at Moscow, the Hitlerites were no longer able to resume their strategic offensive in several directions, as had been the case at the start of the war, lacking the necessary power. However, profiting from the absence of a second front in Europe, they intended to strike their main blow on the southern flank of the Soviet-German front--to occupy the important industrial, petroleum-rich and agricultural areas of Groznyy, Baku, the Don, the Kuban and the lower reaches of the Volga, to cross the Caucasian Mountain Range and to reach the borders of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The planned outcome of the entire campaign of the summer of 1942 was to inflict a crushing defeat on the Soviet forces. However, the fascists had decided to begin by conquering the Crimea, to defeat our group of forces in the Khar'kov area, to release their own troops from the Demyan "bag," to increase the blockade of Leningrad and to regain the initiative on the Eastern Front. The enemy focused its assault group of forces against our Southwestern and Southern Fronts.

In turn, the Soviet command believed that the enemy will mount his offensive toward Moscow and the south. However, the main importance was ascribed to the Moscow direction (as we can see, the enemy's intentions had not been entirely unraveled).

Ratio of Forces and Ordnance on Both Sides
of the Soviet-German Front in May 1942

Army	Strength in million men	Guns and mortars	Tanks and assault weapons	Combat aircraft
Soviet troops	5.1	44,900	About 3,900	About 2,200
Enemy forces	About 6.2	56,941	3,229	3,395
Ratio	1:1.2	1:1.3	1.2:1	1:1.5

These data show that neither side had any particular advantage. Essentially, however, the enemy had professional troops whereas most of our forces consisted of reservists. Hitlerite Germany's military machine operated smoothly whereas our industry, a considerable percentage of which, as we know, had been evacuated from the European areas to the Urals and Siberia, was only gathering strength.

The war situation which prevailed in the summer of 1942 was extremely adverse to our side. The enemy had been able to capture the Kerch Peninsula and Sebastopol, and to inflict defeats on the Southwestern and Southern Fronts in the battles in the Kharkov direction. The enemy captured the strategic initiative. With his considerable superiority in forces and ordnance in the south, by mid-July 1942 he had achieved substantial territorial successes, penetrating 150 to 400 kilometers in depth, capturing Rostov, crossing the Don in its lower reaches and presenting a direct threat to the Northern Caucasus and Stalingrad.

The situation was further affected by our errors in the Crimea and at Kharkov. As to the Crimea, J. V. Stalin told Supreme Headquarters representative L. Z. Mekhlis in answer to his 8 May 1942 cable that "you are holding the strange position of a marginal observer not responsible for the state of affairs on the Crimean front. This position is quite comfortable but it is thoroughly rotten.... You have failed to take all the necessary measures to organize a resistance, limiting yourself to passive criticism...."

L. Z. Mekhlis was demoted to a lower position and the Crimean Front command was suitably criticized as well. Marshal of the Soviet Union S. K. Timoshenko, commander in chief of the troops in the southwestern direction, N. S. Khrushchev, Military Council member, and Gen I. Kh. Bagramyan, the chief of staff, were also severely blamed by the supreme commander in chief for the defeat suffered in the Kharkov operation.

Taking into consideration the danger facing the country, the Soviet command organized the defense of the Northern Caucasus and Stalingrad. The Stalingrad Front was established on 12 July 1942. Among others, it included the fresh 63rd, 62nd and 64th armies. Marshal S. K. Timoshenko was appointed front commander (replaced by Gen V. N. Gordov as of 23 July), and N. S. Khrushchev was appointed Military Council member. The front was given the assignment to block the enemy's access to the Volga and firmly to defend a line along the Don River from Pavlovsk to Kletskaya and further on to Verkhnekurmoyarskaya.

The Stalingrad defensive operation began on 17 July. The day before it was a coerced, temporary and extremely difficult situation. The front forces were in a difficult position and many of its large units were below strength.

The Stalingrad Oblast and city population stood up to the defense of its native area. Party and Komsomol members set the example in everything. A. S. Chuyanov, first secretary of the Stalingrad Oblast party committee, became chairman of the city's defense committee. Defense lines were built on the access approaches to the city, and people's militia, fighter battalions and underground groups were raised. The Tractors, Barrikady and Kirovskiy Oktyabr' Plants worked night and day.

The Northern Caucasus Front had been created somewhat earlier with the task of ensuring the defense of the Caucasus. It included the 46th, 47th and 51st armies, which stubbornly resisted the enemy's advance. Marshal of the Soviet Union S. M. Budennyi was appointed front commander and P. I. Seleznev, Krasnodar Kray party committee secretary, was made member of the Military Council.

Thirteen divisions of the Sixth Germany Army, numbering some 270,000 men, 3,000 guns and mortars and about 500 tanks were concentrated in the direction of Stalingrad on 17 July. They were supported by as many as 1,200 combat aircraft.

Initially, these forces were opposed by our troops numbering 160,000 soldiers and officers, 2,200 guns and mortars and about 400 tanks, supported by 450 airplanes of the Eighth Air Army.

By 22 July the Hitlerites had reached the main defense area of the Stalingrad Front. The attention of the supreme commander in chief headquarters was focused on Stalingrad. The front forces were reinforced by a tank corps, four separate tank brigades, nine tank battalions, two fighter brigades, eight fresh infantry divisions, and several artillery and mortar regiments. The task was to deplete and stop the enemy and to prevent his access to the Volga.

By that time the enemy himself began to take into consideration the resisting power of the Soviet forces and to realize that without the seizure of Stalingrad advancing further in the direction of the Caucasus would be risky. The enemy as well had focused his main attention here by strengthening Paulus' Sixth Field Army with the 14th Tank Corps from the reserves and redirecting here from the Caucasus Goto's Fourth Tank Army. At that point the Sixth Army alone numbered 18 divisions. The German divisions advancing toward Stalingrad were opposed by our 62nd and 63rd armies, two divisions of the 64th Army and one division each of the Fourth and First Tank armies. The enemy's superiority was the following: manpower, by a factor of 1.2; it had double the number of tanks and was superior in aircraft by a factor of 3.0; on either side the artillery was of equal strength.

Under these circumstances the battle lasted from 23 July to 10 August 1942. Fierce combats raged. In order to strengthen the firmness of the Soviet

troops and their responsibility for the fate of Stalingrad and the homeland, an order was issued by the People's Commissar of Defense under No 227, dated 28 July 1942. Essentially, it could be reduced to the slogan "Not one step back!" The political interpretation of this document, which was of tremendous importance in strengthening the city's defense, was undertaken immediately. Mass heroism grew. The influx of troops into the army and the Komsomol increased. Combat procedures were strengthened.

I shall describe briefly the development of combat operations at Stalingrad. The defensive battle began along the distant approaches to the city, when advance elements of the 62nd and 64th armies joined the battle with the vanguard of the Sixth German Army on 17 July and over a 6-day period stubbornly resisted along the Chir and Tsima river line. This forced Paulus to deploy some of his main forces, which allowed us to gain time to strengthen our defense along the main line. The battle for the main defense line held by the 62nd and 64th armies began on 23 July, when the enemy tried to surround the Soviet troops in the big Don salient with flanking operations, reach the Kalach area and make a breakthrough to Stalingrad from the west. The Hitlerite command's plan was defeated as a result of the stubborn resistance offered by our 62nd and 64th armies and the counterstrikes by formations of the First and Fourth tank armies. By 10 August the Soviet forces retreated to the left bank of the Don, took defensive positions along the outer surroundings of Stalingrad and stopped the enemy's progress advancing from the west.

After advance elements of Goth's Fourth Tank Army had reached Kotelnikovo on 2 August a direct threat of a breakthrough to the city from the southwest appeared as well. A new Southeastern Front was created out of the Stalingrad Front to provide a defense in that direction, on 7 August 1942 (consisting of the 64th, 57th, 51st and First Guards and Eighth Air armies and, as of 30 August, the 62nd Army. Gen A. I. Yeremenko was appointed front commander and Brigade Commissar V. M. Layok was made member of the Military Council). The Southeastern Front Forces counterattacked on 9-10 August and forced Gen Goth's Fourth Tank Army to convert to defense operations temporarily. By 17 August here as well the enemy forces were stopped at the outside defense line.

The German fascist forces resumed their offensive on 19 August in an effort to capture Stalingrad simultaneously from the west and the southwest.

The day of 23 August was among the most difficult. On that day, the enemy's 14th Tank Corps and Sixth Army broke through along a narrow sector north of the city in the direction of the Volga, separating the 62nd Army from the other forces on the Stalingrad Front, for which reason the army was transferred to the command of the Southeastern Front. At that time the army's commander was Gen A. I. Lopatin. G. K. Zhukov was to write subsequently that Lopatin "had done everything demanded of his military duty and above and beyond it...." (G. K. Zhukov, "Vospominaniya i Razmyshleniya" [Recollections and Thoughts]. In two volumes. Moscow, 1959. Vol 2, p 68).

The enemy tried to capture the city with a strike from the north along the Volga. Elements of the Stalingrad anti-aircraft defense district corps

played an important role in repelling this strike. That same day, the German aviation subjected Stalingrad to a barbarous bombing raid with about 2,100 sorties. The Soviet fliers and anti-aircraft men brought down 120 enemy airplanes in the air battles over the city.

The flight personnel of the 434th Air Fighter Regiment, commanded by Major I. I. Kleshchev, distinguished themselves in August. In 18 days they brought down 36 enemy aircraft. In 4 days the 150th Bomber Air Force Regiment commanded by Lt Col I. S. Polbin destroyed 40 tanks and 50 vehicles. Senior Lt M. D. Baranov brought down 24 enemy airplanes and was made Hero of the Soviet Union.

On the same day, 23 August, the advance detachment commanded by Capt A. A. Stolyarov, of the 35th Guards Infantry Division, operating in the area of the Kotluban railroad station, repelled five enemy motorized infantry and tank attacks. The guardsmen fought to the last ditch. When the detachment commander was incapacitated, command was assumed by Guards Capt P. Ibarruri, who was a commander of a machine gun company. The line was held until the main forces approached. However, the brave soldier, the son of Dolores Ibarruri, secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain, was mortally wounded in that battle. He was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union posthumously.

The Soviet command took urgent and decisive measures to destroy the large units which had broken through to the Volga and brought up from the reserves the 24th and 66th armies which, together with the other armies of the Stalingrad Front, mounted counterstrikes at the enemy from the north. This drew away some of the forces of the Sixth German Army and eased the situation of the Stalingrad defenders. The enemy was stopped at the northwestern edge of the city. However, the German-fascist command, continuing to increase its strength, committed to the battle as of the beginning of August, northwest of Stalingrad, the Eighth Italian and, subsequently, Third Romanian armies. The main forces of the Sixth and Fourth Tank German armies were concentrated for the battle for the city itself.

Therefore, in the second half of August the battle tension continued to increase. The party's Central Committee, the State Defense Committee, and the Supreme Headquarters took urgent measures to help Stalingrad. G. M. Malenkov, party Central Committee secretary and member of the State Defense Committee, Gen A. M. Vasilevskiy, chief of general staff and representative of Supreme Headquarters, and Gen A. A. Novikov, commander of the Air Force, came to Stalingrad. The 16th Air Army began to be raised in August. Supreme Headquarters directed to Stalingrad the First Guard's Army consisting of four infantry divisions, commanded by Gen K. S. Moskalenko, and other large units.

The people of Stalingrad worked intensively. Thus, for example, even in September the Stalingrad Tractors Plant delivered to the front more than 200 tanks, 150 tractors and large amounts of other equipment.

By the beginning of September the two Soviet armies (62nd and 64th) retreated to the inner defense line. The situation worsened. Hitler ordered Weichs, commander of the Group of Armies B, and Paulus, commander of the Sixth Army, to capture Stalingrad as soon as possible and at all cost. The Weichs group was reinforced from 38 divisions in mid-July to more than 80 divisions by the end of September, while the Group of Armies A, which was advancing toward the Caucasus, was reduced from 60 to 29 divisions between July and September. This disturbed Hitler's previous plans and now Stalingrad became the main target.

The entire country supported the heroic city on the Volga. The population collected funds for the production of tanks, airplanes and other ordnance. Voluntary reinforcements were sent mainly to Stalingrad.

On 12 September the direct defense of the northern and central parts of Stalingrad was assigned to the 62nd Army. Gen V. I. Chuykov assumed command. The 64th Army was assigned the defense of the southern part of the city (Gen M. S. Shumilov commanding). Both armies found themselves in a difficult situation. The depth of their defense lines did not exceed 10 to 12 kilometers. The enemy resumed his offensive with new strength on 13 September, throwing 350 tanks against the 62nd Army. Despite huge losses, he reached the western suburbs of Barrikady and Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant settlements; to the south, not far from the city, he captured the Sadovaya railroad station, reached the Volga between the 64th and 67th armies and captured Mamayev Kurgan.

In accordance with headquarters' instructions, the 13th Guards Order of Lenin Infantry Division, commanded by Gen A. I. Rodimtsev, was ordered to cross the Volga urgently and join the 62nd Army. On 16 September the division threw back the Hitlerites with an assault and recaptured Mamayev Kurgan. One could already feel the change in circumstances. However, the enemy continued to advance.

On 28 September the Stalingrad Front was renamed the Don Front and Gen K. K. Rokossovskiy was appointed its commander; Corps Commissar A. S. Zheltov was appointed Military Council member (replaced by Brigade Commissar A. I. Kirichenko on 24 October and Gen K. F. Telegin on 20 December). The South-eastern Front was renamed the Stalingrad Front (A. I. Yermenko commanding officer and N. S. Khrushchev, Military Council member).

Despite tremendous casualties, the enemy reached the Tractors Plant on 4 October; between 27 September and 8 October he advanced no more than 400 to 600 meters in the direction of the main strike.

Reinforcements were brought up to the Stalingrad Front: the 37th Guards Infantry Division, commanded by Gen V. G. Zholudev, and the 84th Tank Brigade joined the 62nd Army. Fierce battles developed for the Tractors Plant. The soldiers displayed courage and heroism. As always, party and Komsomol members were in the front ranks. Komsomol member M. A. Panikakha engaged enemy tanks by himself and set the lead tank afire with a Molotov cocktail. The enemy tarried and the remaining tanks turned back. The assault group commanded by Sgt Yakov Pavlov, which defended a house building which has

entered the history of the Patriotic War as Pavlov's House, firmly repelled the Hitlerite attacks. It consisted of 23 soldiers belonging to different nationalities. Similar cases could be found everywhere else.

Meanwhile, a fierce battle was being fought for the Caucasus. Despite heavy losses, the enemy nevertheless continued to advance slowly.

Hitler signed the order to convert to strategic defense along the entire Soviet-German Front on 14 October. However, the offensive continued in the Stalingrad area.

The Hitlerites captured the Tractors Plant on 15 October and reached the Volga holding a narrow sector. Thereafter the 62nd Army found itself split into three segments. Its troops fought bravely for individual houses and even floors. Isolated from the main forces of the 62nd Army, a group commanded by Col S. F. Gorokhov defended the Rynok and Spartanovka settlements. North of Stalingrad, the 138th Infantry Division commanded by Col I. I. Lyudnikov, cut off from the main forces, was repelling the enemy's pressure in the area east of the Barrikady Plant, hence Lyudnikov Island, named after him. Our troops were being pressed with their backs on the Volga but held on until Soviet forces could mount a counterattack.

In the course of the 4-month Stalingrad Battle, 700,000 of the Hitlerites were killed or wounded, and they lost more than 2,000 guns and mortars, more than 1,000 tanks and assault guns, and more than 1,400 airplanes.

The people around the world and the leaders of the allied countries gave a high rating to the exploit of Stalingrad's defenders. F. Roosevelt, the U.S. president, wrote to J. V. Stalin in August of 1942 that "... The Soviet Union has been bearing the main burden of the struggle and suffered the heaviest losses throughout 1942, and I can tell you that we greatly admire the splendid resistance shown by your country." Unfortunately, today the United States has forgotten these and other similar high assessments of the role which the Soviet troops played in the battle for peace and the happy future of mankind.

During the defense period the objective of the Soviet leadership was to wear out and exhaust the enemy in combat, to acquire as many tanks, airplanes, guns, and various types of equipment as possible, to train fresh troop reserves, to create conditions for a Red Army counterattack and to annihilate the enemy at Stalingrad, once again regaining the strategic initiative and predetermining the total defeat of fascist Germany.

A long and painstaking creative work on the part of the Supreme Command Headquarters, the general staff, and the command and staffs in the Stalingrad direction preceded the implementation of this plan. I deem it useful to recall here the suggestions brought forth by G. K. Zhukov, as deputy supreme commander in chief, and A. M. Vasilevskiy, as chief of general staff, submitted in September 1942. At that time J. V. Stalin recalled them from Stalingrad to Moscow. The following are excerpts from G. K. Zhukov's story in this connection.

"After reviewing all possible alternatives," he recalls, "we decided to suggest to J. V. Stalin the following plan of action: first, active defense in order to continue to exhaust the enemy; second, the undertaking of preparations for a counterattack in order to deal the enemy in the Stalingrad area the type of blow which would drastically change the strategic situation in our favor in the southern part of the country.

"As to a specific counteroffensive plan, naturally we could not formulate detailed computations in one day. It was clear to us, however, that the main strikes had to be dealt along the flanks of the Stalingrad group of forces, covered by the royal Romanian troops (which, for a number of reasons, were by far less combat-capable than the Wehrmacht units--the author).

"Rough estimates indicated that the necessary forces and means for a counter-attack could not be readied before mid-November" (G. K. Zhukov, op. cit., vol 2, p 76).

G. K. Zhukov and A. M. Vasilevskiy based their assessment of the enemy on the fact that, because of a shortage of forces and means, fascist Germany was no longer able to fulfill its 1942 strategic plan. On the Soviet side, the training of large strategic reserves, armed with the latest weapons and combat hardware, were completing their training. The Red Army command-political structure and troops had fully mastered the ways and means of conduct of combat operations under any circumstances, based on the experience of numerous fierce clashes with enemy troops.

As Georgiy Konstantinovich goes on to say, a talk was held among J. V. Stalin, G. K. Zhukov and A. M. Vasilevskiy on 13 September, in the course of which the decision was made to start planning a major counteroffensive operation in the Stalingrad area. The plan called for the creation of a new front here and concentrating the necessary reserves to this effect.

J. V. Stalin held a conference at the end of September, at which the specific decision was made to create a new, southwestern, front, headed by Gen N. F. Vatutin; Corps Commissar A. S. Zheltov was made a member of the front's military council.

It was thus that the Soviet command formulated the plan for the Stalingrad counteroffensive in the course of the defensive operations. The plan of the counteroffensive was to strike with bridgeheads on the Don, in the area of Serafimovich and Kletskaya and from the area of the Sarpinskiye Lakes, south of Stalingrad, and to crush the troops covering the flanks of the enemy's assault group and, by developing the offensive along merging directions toward Kalach and Sovetskiy, to surround and destroy his main forces operating directly at Stalingrad.

Specific problems related to the forthcoming operation were repeatedly discussed prior to the beginning of the counteroffensive, among a small circle of people at headquarters and the staffs of the Stalingrad fronts. I had the opportunity to attend one such headquarters conference in November 1942, as a newly appointed commander of the First Guards Army within the Southwestern

Front. The most important problem of the start of the counteroffensive was being discussed.

The counteroffensive itself was to take place as follows: the main front was to be the Southwestern (Fifth Tank, 21st and First Guards armies and 17th Air Army). The Fifth Tank Army (Gen P. L. Romanenko commander and Division Commissar G. L. Tumanyan, Military Council member), within the 26th Tank Corps (Gen A. G. Rodin, commander), the First Tank Corps (Gen V. V. Butkov, commanding), six infantry divisions, the eight cavalry corps (Gen M. D. Borisov, commanding), 25 artillery and mortar regiments of the Supreme Command Headquarters Reserve and other reinforcements, supported by the front aviation, were to strike out of the Serafimovich bridgehead in the general direction of Kalach. On the third day of the operation it was to merge with the mobile forces of the Stalingrad Front in the Kalach and Sovetskiy area, to complete the encirclement of the Stalingrad enemy group and to undertake its destruction.

From the bridgehead in the Kletskaya area the 21st Army (Gen I. M. Chistyakov, commanding, Brigade Commissar P. I. Kraynov, Military Council member), consisting of the Fourth Tank Corps (Gen A. G. Kravchenko, commanding), six infantry divisions, the Third Guards Cavalry Corps commanded by Gen I. A. Pliyev and 25 artillery and mortar regiments of the Supreme Headquarters Reserve were to break through the enemy's defenses, deploy a headlong offensive and on the third day of the operation, interacting with the tank corps of the Fifth Tank Army, cross the Don, capture Kalach and join the forces of the Stalingrad Front.

The First Guards Army (Gen D. D. Lelyushenko, commanding, Brigade Commissar I. S. Kolesnichenko, Military Council member), consisting of the forces of the First Guards Mechanized Corps (Gen I. N. Russiyanov, commanding), six infantry divisions, one motorized infantry brigade and five artillery and mortar regiments of the Supreme Headquarters Reserve, was to strike in a general southwestern direction toward Bokovskaya, rout the enemy facing it and, by the end of the second day of the operation, reach the Krivaya and Chir River line, consolidate its positions firmly and be ready to repel enemy counterattacks from the west at the flank and rear of the front assault group. Air support was assigned to the First Mixed Air Corps commanded by Gen V. I. Shevchenko.

The 17th and Second Air Armies were to provide air supports to the forces of the Southwestern Front.

The armies of the Stalingrad Front (51st, 57th, 64th, 62nd, 28th and Eighth Air) were issued the following assignments: the 51st (Gen N. I. Trufanov, commanding, Brigade Commissar A. Ye. Khalezov, Military Council member), consisting of the Fourth Mechanized Corps commanded by Gen V. T. Vol'skiy, four infantry divisions, the Fourth Cavalry Corps commanded by Gen T. T. Shapkin, eight artillery and mortar regiments of the Supreme Headquarters Reserve and several other formations and units, was to strike in the direction of Sovetskiy and Kalach and, on the second day of the operation, after capturing Sovetskiy, was to join the mobile elements of the Southwestern Front and complete the encirclement of the Stalingrad enemy group.

The 57th Army (Gen F. I. Tolbukhin, commanding, Brigade Commissar N. Ye. Subbotin, Military Council member), consisting of the forces of the 13th Tank Corps commanded by Col T. I. Tanaschishin, two tank brigades, two infantry divisions, one infantry brigade, 10 artillery and mortar regiments of the Supreme Headquarters Reserve and several other separate subunits was to advance in the general direction of Sovetskiy.

The 64th Army (Gen M. S. Shumilov, commanding, Brigade Commissar Z. T. Serdyuk, Military Council member), consisting of five infantry divisions, five infantry and two tank brigades, and five artillery and mortar regiments, was to develop its offensive in the general direction of Sovetskiy.

The 62nd Army (Gen V. I. Chuykov, commanding, Division Commissar K. A. Gurov, Military Council member) was assigned to hold firmly the eastern section of Stalingrad, while the 28th Army (Gen V. F. Gerasimenko, commanding, Brigade Commissar A. N. Mel'nikov, Military Council member) was assigned to hold the Astrakhan defense line and to rout the enemy's 16th Motorized Division in the Elista area.

The air support for the Stalingrad Front was provided by the Eighth Air Army commanded by Gen T. T. Khryukin.

The armies of the Don Front (65th, 24th, 66th and 16th Air) were to advance as follows: the 65th Army (Gen P. I. Batov, commanding, Brigade Commissar F. P. Luchko, Military Council member) was to strike from a bridgehead in the Kletskaya area; the 24th Army (Gen I. V. Galanin, commanding, Brigade Commissar I. A. Gavrilov, Military Council member), reinforced by the 16th Tank Corps, was to advance from the Kachalinskaya area. The task of these armies was to surround and destroy enemy formations holding a defense line in the small Don salient as they developed their converging offensive toward Vertyachiy. The 65th Army, whose breakthrough sector was adjacent to the area held by the 21st Army, was to start the offensive simultaneously with the Southwestern Front, while the 24th Army was to start its own 3 days later. Its assignment was to break through the enemy's defenses at a considerable distance from the striking forces of the Southwestern Front and the neighboring 65th Army. Its success was largely to depend on the pace of advance of P. I. Batov's army, which was to reach Vertyachiy after covering a considerably greater distance.

The 66th Army (Gen A. S. Zhadov, commanding, regimental commissar A. M. Krivulin, Military Council member) was to defend its line firmly and prevent the enemy from transferring forces toward the main front strike. Air support of the Don Front was to be provided by the 16th Air Army.

The artillery and air support of the troop operations was planned for the first time on such a large scale as an artillery and air offense. The essence of their operations was to provide continuous support to infantry units and tanks throughout the entire period of the offensive, including preparations for the attack, and operations deep within the enemy's defense. The plan for the air offensive was specifically developed by the commanders of the air armies (17th, 16th, Second and Eighth) commanded by Gens S. A. Krasovskiy, S. I. Rudenko, K. N. Smirnov and T. T. Khryukin.

Ratio of Forces and Equipment of the Two Sides
in the Stalingrad Direction at the Beginning
of the Counteroffensive by the Soviet Forces

Army	Personnel in thousand men	Guns and mortars	Tanks and assault guns
I. Southwestern Front area			
Soviet troops	399.0	5,888	728
German-fascist troops	432.0	4,360	255
Ratio	1:1.1	1.4:1	2.8:1
II. Stalingrad Front area			
Soviet troops	410.4	4,931	455
German-fascist troops	379.5	3,950	140
Ratio	1.1:1	1.2:1	3.2:1
III. Don Front area			
Soviet troops	296.7	4,682	280
German-fascist troops	200.0	1,980	280
Ratio	1.5:1	2.4:1	1:1

The working people in the rear tremendously contributed to the Stalingrad victory. Working under difficult circumstances, the workers in plants and factories continuously supplied our troops with tanks, guns, airplanes, ammunition, fuel and other types of ordnance.

The counteroffensive was preceded also by the tremendous amount of work done by commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations in explaining to the troops the combat assignments and mobilizing their forces for the defeat of the hated enemy. All this work was closely related to the 25th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, which was being celebrated at that time. The party and Komsomol organizations in companies and batteries were being strengthened. Corps Commissar A. S. Zheltov, member of the Military Council of the Southwestern Front, frequently visited the First Guards Army. Together with me, he visited subunits and trenches and talked with the troops. The number of party members in the troops increased. Thus the 21st Army, which was neighboring ours, numbered more than 12,000 party and 16,000 Komsomol members.

The Supreme Command Headquarters decided to undertake in November the preparation of an operation which was code-named "Saturn," along with the counteroffensive at Stalingrad. The plan called for striking after the Stalingrad offensive through Millerovo toward Rostov with the forces of the Southwestern and the left wing of the Voronezh fronts. During the preparations, and in the course of the counteroffensive, operations were to take place in the area of Rzhev and Leningrad, one of the tasks of which was to prevent the enemy from moving forces to Stalingrad. The Transcaucasian Front was ordered to hold on firmly to its lines.

The supreme commander in chief was also concerned with the situation at Moscow. The enemy was not far from the capital and kept in the Moscow direction two of the four tank armies--the Second and the Third--and considerable air forces. Furthermore, he could quite safely take out of France and Germany 20 to 30 divisions (as no second front had been opened) and throw them toward Moscow. This made it necessary to follow the behavior of the enemy closely, and to show greater vigilance in the central area. This important task as well was assigned to G. K. Zhukov.

Thanks to the efforts of headquarters, military commanders A. M. Vasilevskiy, N. N. Voronov and A. A. Novikov, the intensive work of the military councils and staffs of the fronts and all levels of the command and political personnel and with the active participation of the party and Komsomol organizations, the preparations of the troops in the Stalingrad direction for mounting a decisive counteroffensive were completed within the stipulated time under conditions of deep secrecy and vigilance.

Hitler believed that, after suffering severe losses in the defensive battles at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus, the Soviet army would be unable to mount a major offensive. This was his fatal error.

The counteroffensive order was announced to the troops of the Southwestern and Don fronts on the night of 19 November and to the forces on the Stalingrad Front on the night of 20 November.

The forces of the Southwestern and Don fronts assumed their starting positions on 19 November before dawn. After an 80-minute artillery barrage, without waiting for proper weather for air operations, the forces of the Southwestern Front and the 65th Army on the Don Front started their decisive counteroffensive. At the end of the first day the tank corps of the Southwestern Front--the 26th of Gen A. G. Rodin, the First of Gen V. V. Butkov and the Fourth of Gen A. G. Kravchenko--rushed forward and routed the Second and Fourth Corps of the Third Romanian Army and, in the course of the clash, inflicted heavy casualties on the 48th German Tank Corps, throwing it back to the southwest and continued to develop their advantage en route to Kalach (furious, Hitler ordered the execution by firing squad of the commander of the 48th Tank Corps). The infantry and cavalry divisions of the Fifth Tank and 21st armies advanced headlong behind the tank corps.

A staff officer under Paulus described in his memoirs what the situation was with the enemy's forces: "Urged on by fear of the Soviet tanks, German

trucks, passenger cars and staff cars, motorcycles, cavalry and cartage rushed to the west; they trampled on each other, became bogged down, overturned, and bottled up the road.... Those who stumbled and fell could no longer get up. They were trampled, ridden over and choked to death."

On 20 November, following an artillery barrage, the Stalingrad Front started its offensive. This strike was totally unexpected by the fascists. The forces of the 57th and 51st armies breached the defense of the Fourth Romanian Army. The Fourth Motorized Corps commanded by Gen V. T. Vol'skiy, Col T. I. Tanaschishin's Thirteenth Tank Corps and Gen T. T. Shapkin's Fourth Cavalry Corps moved into the breach. They developed their operative success toward Sovetskiy in the direction of the mobile forces of the Southwestern Front. At the outcome of the second day of the battle they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Third and Fourth Romanian armies and the Sixth and Fourth German Tank armies were outflanked.

At the same time, the forces of the First Guards Army and the Fifth Tank Army of the Southwestern Front and the 51st Army of the Stalingrad Front successfully resolved the problem of creating an outside encirclement front.

The Hitlerite leadership was alarmed by the threatening circumstances. Feverish efforts to resolve the situation began. Major differences developed among the fascist bosses. General Zeitzler, chief of general staff of ground forces and Weichs, who commanded the Army Group B, which included Paulus' armed forces, suggested that the forces of the Sixth Army move west of Stalingrad. Hitler and Field Marshal Keitel insisted on holding the positions in the Stalingrad area (thus condemning the Sixth and part of the Fourth German Tank armies to inevitable doom).

The Soviet counteroffensive developed at a tempestuous pace. Our aviation operated successfully. I particularly remember the active efforts of the aviation group commanded by Ye. Ya. Savitskiy (today aviation marshal and Twice Hero of the Soviet Union) and the special groups of fighter aircraft commanded by V. P. Babkov (today colonel general and Hero of the Soviet Union).

Gen A. G. Rodin, commander of the 26th Tank Corps, assigned to an advance element headed by Lt Col G. N. Filippov, commander of the Fourteenth Motorized Infantry Brigade, to break to the enemy's rear lines during the night and capture the bridge across the Don in the Kalach area. The detachment reached the Don on 22 November before dawn only to find the bridge blown up. Gusev, a local resident, guided the detachment to another bridge northwest of Kalach. Hitlerites guarded the bridge. In its tanks and trucks, Filippov's detachment, headlights on, mounted a headlong attack on the enemy (at first the enemy thought that they were his own forces), eliminated the enemy guards, captured the bridge and held it until the arrival of the 19th Tank Brigade commanded by Lt Col N. M. Filippenko. The tanks of the 26th Tank Corps of the Fifth Tank Army and the Fourth Tank Corps of the 21st Army quickly crossed the bridge and continued their successful advance toward Kalach and Sovetskiy.

G. N. Filippov and N. M. Filippenko were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union for valorous performance of combat assignments, while the patriot Gusev was awarded the Order of the Red Star. Awards were also presented to many of the soldiers in these brigades.

The historical operation of surrounding the enemy at Stalingrad reached its apogee on 23 November 1942. At 1600 hours the 45th Tank Brigade commanded by Col P. K. Zhidkov of the Fourth Tank Corps commanded by Gen A. G. Kravchenko, of the Southwestern Front, and the 36th Motorized Brigade commanded by Lt Col M. I. Rodionov of the Fourth Motorized Corps commanded by Gen V. T. Vol'skiy of the Stalingrad Front, merged in the area of the Sovetskiy settlement not far from Kalach, which was captured by the 26th Tank Corps. Twenty-two enemy divisions and more than 160 separate units, totaling 330,000 Hitlerites, found themselves surrounded. The same day the Fourth and Fifth Romanian Corps (Fifth, Sixth, 13th, 14th and 15th divisions), which had been surrounded in the Raspopinskaya area, surrendered. A total of 27,000 enemy soldiers and officers were captured.

Foreseeing the inevitable catastrophe, on 22 November, at 1800 hours, Gen Paulus, commander of the Sixth German Army, reported to his superiors that his army was surrounded, fuel supplies would be exhausted soon, the situation with ammunition was critical and there would be food for no more than 6 days. Paulus requested to be granted freedom of action should he find himself unable to set up a perimeter defense. Hitler categorically forbid any effort to break through the encirclement and ordered that Paulus' headquarters be moved to Stalingrad, promising him to breach the blockade.

At that point the Soviet command faced very important tasks: to capture or destroy the surrounded enemy group, to ensure reliable support to the outside encircling group and to prevent Paulus' army's breakthrough.

Chief of General Staff A. M. Vasilevskiy, headquarters representative, reported to J. V. Stalin that the enemy would unquestionably take all the necessary steps to pull out his forces surrounded at Stalingrad with strikes from the outside and suggested the immediate liquidation of the surrounded forces and that the enemy forces on the outside encirclement front be thrown back. The supreme commander in chief gave his approval.

Between 24 and 30 November the forces of the Southwestern Front (the 21st Army reinforced by the 26th and Fourth Tank Corps) advanced from the west; the Don Front (65th, 24th and 66th armies) advanced from the north, while the Stalingrad Front (67th, 64th, 51st and 57th armies) advanced from the east and the south, tightening the circle. By 30 November the territory occupied by the enemy had shrunk by more than half. Here the ground forces received powerful support from the 16th, 17th and Eighth Air armies. The forces of the First Guards and Fifth Tank armies firmly held the external front along the Krivaya and Chir rivers.

One of the first attempts made by the Hitlerite command to rescue Paulus' army was in the area of activities of the First Guards Army, using the forces of the 11th Romanian and 62nd German infantry divisions and the Italian

"Black Shirt" brigades. The decisive counterattacks were made by the 278th, 203rd, 197th and 14th Guards Infantry divisions of the First Guards Army inflicted a major defeat on the enemy, throwing him back to his initial positions. In this direction the external front was held reliably. The guardsmen displayed unparalleled heroism. Here are a few examples. The Second Battalion of the 838th Regiment of the 197th Infantry Division repelled 10 enemy attacks and destroyed as many as 500 Hitlerites and 10 tanks. In the heat of battle the battalion commander was wounded. Capt I. G. Ryabtsev, deputy commander for political affairs, took over. He killed five fascists in hand-to-hand combat. On 28 November an infantry company of the 1,108th Infantry Regiment, 266th Infantry Division, was the first to join the battle against the 62nd German Infantry Division. It was followed by troops from neighboring subunits. In the sector held by one of them the fascists began to surround battalion commander Capt A. G. Vermolavev. The first man to note this was Komsomol member Yakim Rasulov, who immediately threw himself to his rescue. In a fight with the enemy he killed 20 Hitlerites. At a critical point Rasulov saved the commander, for which he received a government award.

The external front was secured from the south by the 51st Army of the Stalingrad Front. This was one of the most dangerous directions, for the distance between the external front and the group surrounded at Stalingrad was relatively small and the topography was suitable for tank operations.

As expected, during the last days of November the enemy prepared a major massing of forces on the external front to relieve Paulus. He created a new Group of Armies Don, between the Groups of Armies A and B. Mannstein, on whom Hitler greatly relied, was named its commander. The group of armies Don included Paulus' surrounded Sixth Army, the Hollidt Operative Group, the Goth Combined Army Group and remnants of the Third Romanian Army. Mannstein intended to organize two groups of forces--the Tormosinsk and the Kotel'nikov ones--but managed to set up only the latter, which was named Goth after the commander of the Fourth German Tank Army.

The Army Group Goth included three tank, one motorized, five infantry, two air and two cavalry divisions, and other subunits and units including a battalion of Tiger tanks. Its flanks were protected by Romanians. It consisted of 124,000 soldiers and officers, 650 tanks, 852 guns and mortars and 500 airplanes. The assignment of the Goth group was to mount an offensive along the railroad in the Kotel'nikov-Stalingrad direction on 12 December and make a breakthrough to Paulus' surrounded army.

In the Kotel'nikov direction the enemy was opposed by the 51st Army of the Stalingrad Front. In order to strengthen this area, the Fifth Strike Army commanded by Gen M. M. Popov was formed at the beginning of December. All in all, on 12 December our forces numbered 115,000 soldiers and officers, 329 tanks and 1,133 guns and mortars. Air support was provided by 220 aircraft. Therefore, the enemy enjoyed double superiority in terms of tanks and airplanes.

On 12 December Goth breached the defense lines of the 51st Army and began to advance toward the surrounded Sixth Army, covering 45 kilometers in 3 days. An alarming situation was developing. At that point, A. M. Vasilevskiy requested of the supreme commander in chief to transfer the Second Guards Army of the Don Front to the Stalingrad Front in order to stop the enemy's advance. Moving in the threatened direction to the Myshkov River line, under difficult roadless conditions, the Second Guards Army covered more than 200 kilometers.

The troops of the 51st Army, the Fourth Motorized Corps in particular, fought to the last ditch. Here the enemy committed a Tiger battalion. Extremely fierce combat developed in the Nizhne-Kumsk and Verkhne-Kumsk sectors.

Following are some examples of the heroic firmness of the Soviet troops. In 5 days, the regiment commanded by Lt Col M. S. Diasamidze threw back more than 30 enemy attacks, destroyed more than 20 tanks and as many as two German infantry battalions. Within the same period the tank regiment commanded by Lt Col A. A. Aslanov repelled more than 12 enemy attacks and destroyed 20 tanks, 50 trucks and as many as two infantry companies in the Verkhne-Kumsk sector.

Armor Private I. M. Kaplunov performed an outstanding exploit in the Nizhne-Kumsk sector. He destroyed nine fascist tanks, the last of them while already severely wounded. Diasamidze, Aslanov and Kaplunov were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union for their heroism and courage. Orders were awarded to other personnel as well. On 18 December the Fourth Motorized Corps was renamed the Third Guards Corps for military exploits.

By then the main forces of the Second Guards Army had come up and deployed along the northern bank of the Myshkov River. On 22 December the offensive mounted by the German-fascist forces misfired under the strikes of the Second Guards and 51st armies. Mannstein denied Goth's request for help. He himself was facing a greater concern, fearing a possible strike to his rear lines by the Soviet forces from the Srednyy Don area.

The successful advance of the forces of the Southwestern and the left wing of the Voronezh fronts, which began on 16 December 1942, was of decisive importance to the development of a crisis situation for the Hitlerite Group of Armies Don. Initially it was aimed in the direction of Rostov but then it turned to the southeast, toward the flank and rear of the Mannstein Group of Armies, in the direction of Tatsinskaya and Morozovsk, which threatened above all the Army Group Goth. The code name of the Saturn operation was changed to Small Saturn. The First and Third Guards armies, the Fifth Tank Army and the 17th, 18th, 24th and 25th Tank Corps were operating as part of the Southwestern Front, which totaled 425,500 soldiers and officers, more than 5,000 guns and mortars and more than 1,000 tanks. Air support was provided by more than 300 combat aircraft.

Opposing the Soviet forces in that direction were the Eighth Italian Army, the Hollidt Operative Group and the remnants of the Third Romanian Army. The enemy's forces totaled 459,000 men, more than 6,200 guns and mortars, 600 tanks and 500 airplanes.

Nevertheless, we were able to establish a tank force superior to the direction of the main strike. On 16 December 1942, the 31st Guards Rifle Front counterattacked, as follows: from the north, the First Guards Army, commanded by Gen V. I. Kuznetsov, and from the east the Third Guards Army, under my command, the First Guards Motorized Corps, commanded by Gen I. N. Russiyanov, was in the lead. On 16 December they surrounded the main forces of the Eighth Italian Army south of Kaniush. The Sixth Army, Gen P. M. Kharitonov, commanding, of the Voronezh Front developed its strike in a southwesterly direction. On 17 December it was transferred to the southwestern front. The Fifth Tank Army continued its advance in a westerly direction toward Chernovskoye. The 17th, 18th, 25th and 24th Tank Corps advanced rapidly, as follows: the 24th and 25th toward Tatsinskaya and Morozovsk, outflanking the enemy and operating behind the Group of Armies Don; the 17th and 18th advanced in the Millerovo and Kantemirovka sectors. Manstein feverishly sought means to prevent the rising catastrophe but failed. In 5 days the 24th Tank Corps commanded by Gen V. M. Badanov, which had been transferred to the Third Guards Army, covered in combat some 240 kilometers and, unexpectedly to the enemy, on the morning of 24 December rushed into Tatsinskaya, destroyed the garrison, cut off the Likhaya-Stalingrad railroad tracks, and captured more than 300 enemy airplanes at the airfield, 500 airplane motors and a large quantity of other combat ordnance. The first to enter the Tatsinskaya railroad station were subunit commanders M. Ye. Nechayev, N. M. Ryabchenko, I. I. Linnik and K. Fomin. The 24th Tank Corps was renamed the Second Guards Tatsinskaya Tank Corps for valorous performance of its combat assignment. Gen V. M. Badanov was the first commander of a large unit in the Red Army to be awarded the Order of Suvorov 2nd Class, which I presented to him by order of the supreme Commander in Chief. A monument to M. Ye. Nechayev stands today in Tatsinskaya. The 25th Tank Corps commanded by Gen P. P. Pavlov advanced successfully.

Gen I. N. Russiyanov's First Guards Mechanized Corps of the Third Guards Army advanced toward Morozovsk. At dawn on 23 December, advancing despite the fog and the snowstorm in the Khlebinsk sector, the advance element of this corps, the 17th Guards Tank Regiment commanded by Lt Col T. S. Pozolotin, came across an enemy motorized column. Huge snowdrifts lined the road, hindering the enemy's maneuvering. With a daring strike the Soviet tankmen destroyed 10,000 Hitlerites and captured more than 50 guns and mortars, a large number of machine guns and about 200 trucks and an enemy flag. For this operation the 17th Guards Tank Regiment was awarded the Order of the Red Banner while T. S. Pozolotin was made Hero of the Soviet Union.

The 17th Tank Corps under Gen P. P. Poluboyarov inflicted a major defeat on the Hitlerite tanks in the Kantemirovka sector and cut off the Voronezh-Postov-Na-Donu railroad tracks, for which action it was renamed the Fourth Guards Kantemirovka Corps. Gen B. S. Bakharov's 18th Tank Corps was routing units of the Eighth Italian Army in the Alekseyevo-Lozovskoye sector.

The enemy was forced to transfer urgently its Sixth and 11th Tank and two infantry divisions to the Tatsinskaya area. This weakened the Army Group Goth. Meanwhile, the Second Guards Army reached the Myshkov River. The Stalingrad Front deployed a decisive offensive and routed the Army Group Goth, throwing back its remnants beyond the Manych River.

The fascist General Goth was later to acknowledge that "... The attack on Russia was a political error ... for which reason all military efforts were doomed to failure from the very beginning" (G. Goth. "Tankovyye Operatsii" [Tank Operations]. Translated from the German. Moscow, 1961, p 163). "The stubbornness of the Russian soldier ... is substantiated by his outlook as well. To him this was a patriotic war. He does not want the restoration of czarism. He is fighting fascism which is destroying the achievements of the revolution" (ibid., p 108).

Today's amateurs of aggression and revenge should give some thought to the statements of the defeated fascist general.

The Small Saturn operation reached its objective. The main forces of the Eighth Italian Army, the Hollidt Operative Group and the remnants of the Third Romanian Army were routed.

Under the strikes of the forces of the Southwestern Front and the left wing of the Voronezh Front, five divisions and three brigades of the Italian army, five Romanian divisions and one German division were destroyed; about 60,000 soldiers and officers, 1,927 guns, 176 tanks and 368 airplanes were captured. Four infantry and two German tank divisions were defeated and 1,246 settlements were liberated. As a result, the enemy's defense was breached along a 340-kilometer-long front.

As a result of the successful Small Saturn operations and the successes achieved in the Kotel'nikov area, the hopes that Paulus' army could be rescued failed. In December alone our air force and anti-aircraft brought down more than 700 enemy airplanes. The German transport aviation was able to deliver less than 100 tons of various types of freight per day on an average, compared with about 1,000 tons needed. The situation of Paulus' surrounded forces became catastrophic.

Discussing the offensive mounted by our forces on the Srednyy Don, General Zeitzler wrote that with the routing of the Eighth Italian Army the Hungarian Army found itself directly threatened and that this course of events worsened the desperate situation of the Group of Armies A operating in the Caucasus.

The Hitlerites hastily began to retreat from the Caucasus; most of the First Tank Army pulled out through Rostov, while the 17th dug itself in on the Taman Peninsula.

Our next task was to eliminate Paulus' surrounded army and carry out the operation code-named "Ring." On 30 December 1942 Supreme Headquarters assigned this task to the Don Front (Gen K. K. Rokossovskiy, commanding, Gen K. F. Telegin, Military Council member). The 62nd, 64th and 57th armies of the Stalingrad Front were transferred under its command. The Stalingrad Front was renamed the Southern Front (Gen A. I. Yeremenko, commanding, N. S. Khrushchev, Military Council member). The front's assignment was to advance toward Rostov.

In order to help the elimination of the surrounded enemy, by Supreme Headquarters decision, as early as 21 December its representative, Red Army artillery commander N. N. Voronov, arrived at the headquarters of the Don Front. Common sense indicated that the use of artillery in this case could preserve the lives of many Soviet troops. Furthermore, the plant workers had produced large quantities of ammunition, as much as the front required.

At the beginning of the Ring Operation, the Don Front included the 56th, 24th, 65th, 21st, 62nd, 64th and 57th armies. They totaled 39 infantry divisions, 10 infantry, motorized infantry and marine brigades, seven aviation divisions, 45 artillery and mortar regiments from the Supreme Headquarters Reserve, 10 rocket artillery regiments, five tank brigades, 14 tank regiments, 17 anti-aircraft artillery regiments, and other units. However, these formations and units were understaffed. The ratio of forces was as follows: we had 212,000 men compared with 250 enemy troops; respectively there were 6,860 and 4,130 guns and mortars, 257 and 300 tanks, and 300 and 100 combat aircraft. Therefore, the Don Front had air and artillery supremacy.

On 8 January 1943, in an effort to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, the Soviet command suggested to the surrounded enemy humane surrender conditions. However, the fascist command rejected our ultimatum. Therefore, on 10 January the forces of the Don Front, following a powerful artillery and aviation barrage, mounted their counteroffensive. At the end of 17 January 1943, surmounting the stubborn Hitlerite resistance, they tightened even further the ring around the doomed enemy. Successful operations were developed by the 64th and 57th armies followed by the 21st and 65th armies. During the counteroffensive, as during the period of defense, the seamen of the Volga Navy Flotilla and the civilian rivermen displayed great heroism and dedication. The enemy lost the airfield in the Pitomnik sector, which was the main supply base for the surrounded forces. At that point, as Zeitzler recalls, even Hitler's forced optimism weakened. Nevertheless, he still refused to grant Paulus freedom of action.

On 22 January the forces of the Don Front resumed their advance. In 4 days, along the entire encirclement front, they advanced by another 10 to 15 kilometers and cut off the railroad tracks east of Gumrak, thus depriving the enemy of his last airfields. The 64th and 57th armies occupied the southern section of Stalingrad, while the 65th captured Aleksandrovka and Gorodishche.

On 24 January Paulus reported to Mannstein and to Hitler's headquarters that "... Further defense is senseless.... In order to save those who are still alive, the army requests immediate permission to surrender." Once again the request was denied. At the end of 25 January, the territory held by the surrounded troops was reduced even further. K. K. Rokossovskiy, the commanding officer, decided to split the enemy encircled in a pincer movement into two parts through frontal attacks mounted by the 21st and 65th armies from the west and the 62nd Army from the east, moving in the general direction of the Krasnyy Oktyabr' village. Between 10 and 25 January the enemy lost more than 100,000 men in killed, wounded and captured.

The 62nd and 21st armies met in the area of the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant settlement and at Mamayev Kurgan on 26 January. The enemy was split into a southern group, holding the central part of the city, and a northern group in the area of the Tractors and Barrikady plants. Once again the Soviet command suggested to the enemy to surrender on the basis of the 8 January ultimatum. Once again the offer was rejected. At that point the Soviet troops proceeded according to the principle that the enemy was to be destroyed unless he surrendered. Combats for the definitive elimination of the enemy began on the morning of 27 January. From 27 to 31 January the 64th, 57th and 21st armies struck at the southern group of enemy forces while the 62nd, 65th and 66th struck at the northern group.

The southern group of German forces, headed by Field Marshal Paulus, commander of the Sixth Army, and his staff, were captured on 31 January. On 1 February 1943, at 0830 hours, an avalanche of deadly gun and mortar fire fell on the northern enemy group. The moment the firestorm abated, the Hitlerite soldiers began to emerge by the thousands from ravines and trenches, with their hands up. The final shot on the Volga was heard on 2 February 1943.

In the course of the gigantic battle, which lasted 200 days and nights, Hitlerite Germany and its satellites lost about 1.5 million soldiers and officers. Directly at Stalingrad, during our counteroffensive, from 19 November 1942 to 2 February 1943, total enemy losses exceeded 800,000 men, as many as 2,000 tanks and assault guns, more than 10,000 guns and mortars, about 3,000 airplanes and more than 70,000 motor vehicles. The Wehrmacht lost 32 divisions and three brigades, and 16 divisions suffered heavy losses. After 10 January 1943 alone, 22 German divisions were routed and more than 91,000 people were captured, including more than 2,500 officers and 24 generals, including Paulus. After the elimination of the surrounded group, about 140,000 corpses of Hitlerite soldiers and officers were gathered and buried.

The fascist General Westphal wrote that "the defeat at Stalingrad horrified the German people and its army. Never before, in the entire history of Germany, had there been such a terrible end to such a large number of troops" ("Stalingradskaya Epopeya" [The Stalingrad Epic], Moscow, 1968, p 71).

A 3-day period of mourning was proclaimed in Germany. The Hitlerite coalition shuddered. The governments of Italy, Finland and Hungary began to think of pulling out of the war. Turkey and Japan restrained themselves from attacking the Soviet Union. The enslaved peoples of Europe began to develop even more energetically the struggle for the liberation from Hitlerite tyranny.

The universal-historical victory at Stalingrad was an exploit of the entire Soviet people, inspired by the communist party. Under its leadership the country provided our valorous armed forces with everything necessary for combat. It assigned the defense of the Volga fortress to its best sons and daughters who displayed mass heroism. The Stalingrad victory marked the beginning of the expulsion of the aggressors from our native Soviet soil. The strategic initiative definitively passed into the hands of the Red Army.

The Stalingrad victory proved the unsurpassed leadership of the Soviet command and staffs and the high level of party-political work among the troops in support of combat operations.

The communist party and Soviet government properly rated the exploit of the Stalingrad heroes: the title of guards was given to 183 units, large units and formations; many of them were given honor titles. Tens of thousands of troops were awarded USSR orders and medals and 112 were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union for outstanding exploits. More than 700,000 were awarded the medal "For the Defense of Stalingrad."

The Soviet people are well familiar with the lessons of the war. They recall the behests of the great Lenin. As long as imperialism exists the possibility of an aggressive attack on the land of the soviets cannot be excluded. One must always be on guard. In the contemporary conditions of a restless international situation we must steadily strengthen the defense capability of the socialist homeland.

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FEATURES OF AN IMMORTAL EXPLOIT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 89-98

[Article by Ivan Paderin]

[Text] ... The lines at which the divisions of Paulus' army were stopped during the street battles in Stalingrad are marked by tank turrets on pedestals. Behind them, along the bank of the Volga, stretches a narrow strip of land. To this day, wherever one looks, one can gather here many handfuls of rusty fragments of shells and mines. To this day the soil here still smells of burning and choking TNT stench. What kind of people were those who were able to withstand the storms of burning lead? How did the inflexible resolve to withstand to death and, having withstood, to win, ripen?!

The combat operations on the distant and close approaches to the Stalingrad bank of the Volga have been discussed in detail in the works of military historians. Monuments and obelisks stand on sites of heroic exploits. The weapons which the valorous defenders of the city used to repel the pressure of the Hitlerite aggressors are carefully stored in museums. The purpose of all of this is to serve the noble objective of perpetuating the historical reality so precious to the heart of every Soviet person. However, as we give a meaning to the hymn of Stalingrad, frozen in the stone of monuments, and as we look at the extent and wealth of museum exhibits related to the battle on the Volga, the question invariably arises: what did the defenders of these lines have within themselves? What is the human essence of their exploit? The memory is as durable as the memorials. It is precisely we, those who live today, who will determine the length of its durability. Our civic duty is to preserve, to bring to the future generations the thoughts and bright feelings of those who fought along the banks of the Volga to their last drop of blood.

I would like to share my personal impressions and thoughts on the moral world of the participants in the battle for Stalingrad. I have in front of me notes and records, 40 years old, archive files and memoirs. At that time I, a political worker on the battalion level, was among those who defended Stalingrad and time has been unable to erode from my mind the greatness of those heroic days and the immortality of the people on whose side I had the luck to be. I consider faces as though no time has passed, as though it all took place only yesterday....

On the Distant Approaches

1942. The hot July sun is mercilessly shining on the hilly steppe of the large Don salient. Red Army elements are withdrawing to the east. They are preceded by staff cars, tractors and carriages without guns. They are followed by tired infantry and artillerymen and communications troops, and the dust of the road has settled on their heavy kit bags. This is not the first day of retreat to new defense lines, somewhere in the Don area. Junkers and Messerschmidts circle in the skies, hunting for moving vehicles. Bombs and bursts of machine guns from the air are not so terrifying to the individual infantryman. He would leave the road and duck in the first available ditch and stay put. But he is fed up with his helplessness. When will all this end?

At that time, at the assembly point north of Surovikino, I heard the bitter charges voiced by Pvt Aleksandr Tsygankov. After I had completed my presentation of the Sovinformbyuro report, he said:

"They are trying to convince us with such communiques that to retreat is shameful. It is correct and we know it. It is shameful. But why is it happening? Our squad commander died at the first bombing raid. Enemy tanks showed up from the right and the left. The company and battalion commanders realized before we did what this meant: they had already been surrounded once at Barvenkovo. We had been left without command. What to do? We sent a runner to regimental headquarters but he disappeared. As we waited, a real commotion started. The German tanks were about to crush our trenches. Those who could began to fall back. We retreated to our fall-back positions to regroup.... The situation there was even worse--the trenches were shallow and offered no protection from the tanks. There was more bombing, more shelling, then tanks and behind them fascists with automatic weapons. The Hitlerite tactics were devilish--opening a way with fire from the air. What can a soldier do to counter it? So, we retreated almost to the Don itself... So, do not shame us, the rank-and-file soldiers, for our retreat. We are not the only ones to blame...."

At that time combat regulations allowed battalion and regimental commanders to set up command points and headquarters at a considerable distance from the front defense line. For example, as a rule, regimental headquarters was in an area outside enemy machine-gun range, while divisional headquarters was located at double that distance. The distance between the battle lines and the command centers was 3 to 4 kilometers. Communications facilities were used to control defensive battles. Once communications were disturbed confusion took place at the front end, followed by retreat. Naturally, the privates could not be blamed for this. A revision of basic regulations was becoming necessary. This was accomplished in practice in the course of the battles at the walls of Stalingrad, 1 month later. At that point, however, I was facing Pvt Aleksandr Tsygankov, a frail, gesticulating man, with sharp, intelligent and demanding eyes: "Well, senior political instructor, answer, answer my arguments." I admit, I had no answer, for he was not merely voicing his own opinion. His father, a peasant from Luchново village, on the Khopra, Vasilii Ivanovich Tsygankov, had sent his younger son to the front

after Grigoriy, Petr and Anton, his elder brothers, to repel the enemy pressure rather than retreat deep into the country. Aleksandr was unaware of the fate of his brothers, but obeying his father's order he considered his sacred duty.

Stubborn battles with advance elements of Paulus' Sixth Field Army developed on the Don large salient. The defense was conducted by elements of the 62nd and 64th armies drawn from General Headquarters reserves. Aleksandr Tsygankov was a gun-layer in an antitank battery of the 181st Division.

Stalin's order was received at the end of July. I remember the sharpness of its words: "Following the loss of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic Area, the Donbass and other oblasts, we have been left with a great deal less territory and a lot fewer people, less grain, metal, plants and factories. We have lost a population of more than 70 million, more than 800 million poods of grain per year and more than 10 million tons of metal per year. We can no longer enjoy superiority over the Germans in terms of manpower and grain reserves. To retreat further means to perish and suffer the loss of our homeland. Each new piece of land abandoned by us will comprehensively increase the enemy's strength and comprehensively weaken our defense, our homeland." The order ended as follows: "Henceforth the iron law of discipline for every commander, Red Army man and political worker must be the following requirement: not one step back without a superior order...."

It was easy to detect what was taking place in the heart of Aleksandr Tsygankov, the gun layer. In fighting enemy tanks and infantry north of Surovikino he did not falter, for which reason he was awarded the medal "For Courage." Later, General Pozharskiy, who commanded the artillery of the 62nd Army, transferred him to the antitank guns army group. The youngest son of the Khopra peasant Vasilii Ivanovich Tsygankov did not leave the firing positions at the plant area in Stalingrad for more than 4 months.

"Excellent gun layer, thoughtful agitator, a warm person, a communist," General Pozharskiy said about him at a party members' meeting at artillery headquarters after the battle had ended.

... After 40 years I had the luck to meet with Aleksandr Vasiliyevich Tsyganko. Today he is a doctor of sciences and a professor at the Volgograd Engineering-Construction Institute. An entire rainbow of ribbons shines on his chest, among them the Order of Glory, which he received for the storming of Berlin.

"I reached Hitler's layer," he said, intercepting my look. We began to talk about the Stalingrad battle. "The main thing," Aleksandr Vasiliyevich emphasized, "was that at that time we knew and could feel almost physically the fact that people the world over were looking at us and waiting to see how the battle for our city would turn the course of the war. It turned in the proper direction because we did not lose our faith in ourselves, in our strength."

After a short silence, using the same intonation as at that time, at the assembly point at Surovikino, he admonished me:

"Don't reassure yourself and your readers, the young in particular, by saying that the wounds of the war have healed. What about the scars on the mind? Can I forget my brother Petr, who was executed by the Hitlerites? He was hanged on the main square of the concentration camp after seven attempts to escape. How can I rest when I know that to this day another brother of mine, with tears in his eyes, tries to handle the tractor with one hand: he was disabled after throwing himself with a hand grenade under an enemy tank. The eldest, Grigoriy, also returned from the front disabled.... Our entire Tsygankov peasant family has been deprived of the joy of growing grain. That is what the war did to us. Nevertheless, we won. It was our spirit that won. And remember when you write that we gained our firmness and strength there, at the big Don salient, in July and August of '42. For almost 1 month we forced Goth's tanks and Paulus' motorized infantry to wheel-spin. This was the beginning of the victorious Stalingrad battle."

In the Days of Trial by Fire

On Sunday morning, 23 August 1942, Aleksey Semenovich Chuyanov, first secretary of the Stalingrad Oblast party committee, tried to sneak into his own office, to be by himself for a while and to get to the heart of the information received on the work of the city's enterprises during the past week. No such thing happened, however: the obkom was buzzing like a disturbed beehive. In the hall the obkom duty official and the chief of oblast communications welcomed him with the news that by the end of the previous day the Hitlerites had crossed the Don....

Chuyanov immediately got in touch with the city's anti-air defense headquarters and the command centers of the city's defense line, where the previous eve the raising of people's militia detachments had already begun. He sensed that the front reserve units would be unable to assume their positions along the defense line, for which reason, in any case, the militia had to be sent there, although poorly armed.

Now, informed of the alarming news, the obkom first secretary, who was also chairman of the city defense committee, felt the need to see with his own eyes what was taking place at the ports, the streets and plant settlements, and to see for himself whether the workers, employees, housewives and school students knew what to do in case of an enemy air raid. The front had shifted to the line between the Don and Volga rivers and might soon reach the walls of the city. All panic had to be nipped in the bud. This was to be communicated above all to the commissars of the people's units and local anti-aircraft defense teams.

People rushed into his office in a matter of minutes. The commissars--most of them party workers (raykom and party committee secretaries, and obkom and gorkom instructors), did not sit down around the desk, as they usually did, but stood up, waiting for what the chairman of the city defense committee had to say.

"I will never forget this moment. I lost my cool under the eyes of those present," Aleksey Semenovich admitted, many years later. "They were looking

at me like soldiers on parade: 'Well, give an order.' However, I did not know how to 'command.' "...

The first to telephone was K. A. Zadorozhnyy, the director of the Tractors Plant.

"Aleksey Semenovich, do you know that the front has been breached?! German tanks have reached the Mechetka. Our anti-aircraft people are fighting them. This is only 3 kilometers from the plant."

Immediately Chuyanov contacted the front headquarters which on the previous day had moved to the city, in a mine gallery under the high bank of the Tsaritsa River.

Headquarters confirmed the report of the plant's director: the 14th Tank Corps--one of the steely wedges of the Hitlerite strategic arrow--had swept off the defense mounted by our units along the Vertyachiy-Borodin sector and reached the Tractors Plant-Latoshinki area. The main front forces had stopped at the Don. The reserve units could reach the close Stalingrad defense lines in no less than 3 to 4 days.

That was easy for them to say, but this was 3 to 4 days, while the enemy was only 3 kilometers away from the plant.... There were no combat formations and units in the city and its immediate surroundings. The regiments of the 10th NKVD Division were providing patrol service and guarding military-industrial projects and transport facilities. The anti-aircraft subunits--anti-aircraft batteries and on balloon teams were staffed mainly by girls. Such forces could not deal with a tank corps.

Chuyanov could not even dare think that the plant could fall to enemy hands. It was manufacturing tanks and assembling automatic Shpagin submachine guns. The workers knew how to handle the weapons they made. However, would they have the tactical knowledge and resolve to fight tanks and enemy motorized infantry? He remembered his meeting with the commissars. They had to.... For the moral firmness of the people is an essential factor in battle.

"How many ready tanks and automatic weapons are there now at the plant?" he asked Zadorozhnyy.

"Sixty and 1,200."

"To be used immediately."

The deployed tanks were followed from the plant's territory by a battalion of workers armed with submachine guns and hand grenades. They were led by a tall, powerfully built man who seemed capable of protecting those who followed him from bullets and shell fragments. His name was Dmitriy Prikhod'ko and he was the secretary of the Traktorozavodskiy Rayon party committee. A unit of girl medics was headed by Lidiya Plastikova, Komsomol raykom secretary. They were in a hurry to reinforce the defense positions held by the 282nd NKVD Regiment and the anti-aircraft battery, who were engaged in heavy

battle against enemy tanks and submachine gunners along the Mokraya Mechetka line. It was in that direction that worker detachments raised by Chuyanov from the Krasnyy Oktyabr' and Barrikady plants hastened.

At 1430 hours the joint forces of the armed workers from the three plants counterattacked. They were supported by the 21st Training Tank Battalion commanded by Capt A. V. Zheleznov. The battalion tanks were concealed at the plant's tank grounds and, when the proper time came, struck at the flank of the aggressors who had tried to consolidate their positions between Orlovka and the Tractors Plant settlement. The counterattack succeeded. Advantageous positions were occupied on the hills northwest of the plant.... "The aggressors suffered manpower and equipment losses. Twenty-three tanks were destroyed and burned. The anti-aircraft personnel of the 1,077th Anti-Aircraft Regiment distinguished themselves in the fight against the tanks," the communications troops reported to the city defense committee at 1500 hours.

This enraged the Hitlerite strategists. Who had stopped the tanks? It was incredible...some men and women. They were facing the tanks with submachine guns and hand grenades. Fanatics! At all cost this spirit of fanaticism had to be crushed with the force of arms. An armada of Richthoffen's bombers rose into the skies.

During the second half of 23 August, as the sun was sinking to the west, the air over Stalingrad was filled with tremendous thunder. Chuyanov received the signal: "A general city air alarm is sounded." He did not leave his office, deciding to wait for the all-clear signal and then to visit the Tractors Plant positions. However, he could not even conceive of the fact that the all-clear would not be heard until the end of the Battle for Stalingrad and that in a few hours the city was to drown in a flame of fire and turn into ruins.

The massed air raid over Stalingrad caught me at the Sadovaya Hill. I had come here from Karpovka on a 1.5-ton truck, carrying party documents of the political department of the 62nd Army. The documents had to be sent across the Volga.

From here, the Sadovaya Hill, one could see the entire city. It spread along the western bank of the Volga as a twisting ribbon almost 40 kilometers long. The plants with their smoking smokestacks were visible in the northern section of the city, rising over the Volga. Next to them was a thickly built settlement with green trees and fences. Gray-colored districts consisting of stone buildings held the center, from the ports to the railroad station. There were tall trees along the cities and around the squares. The electric power plant with its three heavy smokestacks rose in the southern section among low buildings. This wasuketovka. Narrow streets spread from it up the slopes. There were gardens throughout the city, particularly at the foot of the Sadovaya Hill and the Dar-Gora. It was a peaceful city, a city of squares and parks, with palaces of culture, schools, hospitals and playgrounds....

The bombers sneaked to the city from the west with the sun behind them. The barrage balloons burst brightly in the skies, machine-gunned by the Junkers. The frequent bursts of anti-aircraft shells looked like harmless bits of cotton. From a high altitude, the heavy two-engine Junkers began to drop seemingly weightless objects. As they fell on the roofs of homes and bridges, they burst out in flames. An immeasurable number of incendiary bombs were dropped and fires broke out immediately. Rust-colored flames rose over the city center, the industrial area and here, at the feet of Sadovaya and Dar-Gora hills. It was a flaming sea. Several minutes later high explosive bombs began to fall. The soil erupted like fangs and the Sadovaya Hill shook under me. The entire space over the city reddened from brick dust and fire, as though flooded with blood. District after district and street after street lost their shape. Meanwhile, wave after wave, the bombers kept coming, sometimes in two or three layers, dropping bombs on the burning wreckage.

It was not until evening that I managed to reach with my truck the city port. Vehicles, trucks and various types of carts loaded with goods were piled up helter-skelter. How were the party documents to be put aboard a motor launch? I was facing a thick wall of human backs. However, all I had to explain was the content of the cases in my truck for the people to move aside. Commissars were seeing to the systematic evacuation of the population, starting with children, old people, women and wounded. Although here as well Hitlerite pirates had penetrated and bombed, finding their victims, order was maintained. The population of the city answered the savage cruelty of the fascists not with panic or numbness but with organization and stern silence.

In the evening of 24 August Chuyanov and oblast NKVD commander A. I. Voronin were summoned to the front's military council. The meeting was attended by Supreme Headquarters representative A. M. Vasilevskiy, party central committee secretary G. M. Malenkov, V. A. Malyshev, people's commissar for tank industry, and the commanders of the front armed forces branches. Gen A. I. Yeremenko reported on the situation. The question immediately arose: what was to be done with the Tractors Plant? Explosives had already been placed at its crucial areas. About 600 tons of explosives had been laid. The supreme commander's directive called for leaving no single machine tool or freight car with equipment to the enemy. After this kind of TNT explosion, nothing but ruins would remain. A pontoon bridge laid across the Volga the previous eve had already been blasted. The Tractors Plant was next. When would it be blown up? Today, tomorrow?

Chuyanov said firmly:

"Combat units are being raised in the city. The fascists, after throwing thousands of bombs on Stalingrad, killed 40,000 civilians. However, this does not mean that they have been able to suppress the spirit of resistance. On the contrary, the entire adult population and even the adolescents are demanding weapons. The Tractors Plant is at work, weapons are being hammered to defend the city. The workers are standing by the machine tools with explosives under their feet...."

At that point Chuyanov was given a note from Dmitriy Prikhod'ko, Traktorozavodskiy Rayon party committee secretary: "Three detachments raised in the casting shops, armed, have assumed defense positions in the sector of the Spartanovka settlement. Their spirit is militant. They have unanimously decided to fight to the last man before surrendering the Tractors Plant--the first born of the 1st Five-Year Plan." The note was read aloud and made a stunning impression. The question of the fate of the plant remained open. After the meeting Chuyanov decided to ring up Stalin.

After hearing the arguments of the obkom secretary, Stalin asked:

"Does this mean that the workers have decided to defend a living, a working plant?!"

"Yes, they have."

"Has this been invented by Chuyanov or is it a fact?"

Prikhod'ko's note was read to him.

After a brief silence Stalin said:

"The workers have resolved...and that is how it will be. Remove the explosives."

The fact that the plant will not be blown up became immediately known to the people's militia. They began to reinforce their defense positions in front of the plant with double energy.

The following day, the Hitlerite 14th Tank Corps was forced to assume defensive positions. It was now being attacked frontally and from the flanks. Our units operating in the area between the Don and Volga rivers were striking at the flanks. However, the situation on the northern edge of Stalingrad remained tense.

On 27 August, I and two other officers of the operative department were ordered by Gen N. I. Krylov, who was deputy commander of the 62nd Army at that time, to reach the northern edge of the city to meet with units coming from the reserve and to determine their positions. In the trenches stretching along the Mokraya Mechetka and in front of Spartanovka, at intervals of no more than 5-6 meters, we kept coming across people in worker's clothing, armed with submachine guns and clusters of hand grenades. There were women among them. We were told that 3 days before, Olga Kovaleva, the first woman steel smelter in the country, from the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant, had been killed in a battle with fascist tanks. She had headed a group of workers armed with carbines and hand grenades. In repelling a Hitlerite attack, Olga Kovaleva threw herself forward with a cluster of hand grenades to stop an enemy tank advancing toward the neighboring trench. She was able to throw the grenades but was immediately afterwards hit by a burst of machine-gun fire.

... A slim blond snub-nosed girl was sobbing by the double caponier of an anti-aircraft gun.

"Did someone insult her?" I asked the battery commander.

"No, she is punishing herself. She fired two shells at a fascist tank but missed. That is why she is crying."

I thought of the fierceness, the hatred for the aggressors and the eagerness for exploit that this massed enemy air strike on Stalingrad had awakened in the people!

When companies and battalions of trained and well-armed troops began arriving on the positions of the workers-militiamen, there was grumbling: the militia was unwilling to abandon its foxholes and machine-gun nests. They requested the commanders' permission to remain there at least until the morning, to meet the enemy together with the troops with a storm of fire.

Could one refuse this to people in worker clothing, who had displayed amazing firmness and dedication and the resolve to fight to the death but not let the enemy pass? Was it not here that the most noteworthy phenomenon of this battle was born, expressed in the meaningful term of mass heroism? It did not arise spontaneously. The mass heroism of the Soviet people had been secured as a result of the planned and purposeful work of our party in preparing the people for the forthcoming severe trials.

At the Walls and Streets of the City

As of 12 September the defense of Stalingrad was assigned to the 62nd Army, the command of which was assumed by Gen V. I. Chuykov, and the 64th Army commanded by Gen M. S. Shumilov. The 62nd Army was defending the northern and central parts of the city, while the 64th was defending the area south of it, with all suburban settlements as far as Krasnoarmeysk.

The stern truth of war is that thousands go into combat, sometimes doomed to inevitable death, for the sake of the salvation of millions. The troops which had been ordered to defend the city to the last ditch were essentially doomed. This was difficult to conceal from commanders and troops, for as early as 11 September, by order of the command, units of the Second Tank Corps began to assume their positions on this side of the Volga, on Spornyy, Golodnyy, Zaytsevskiy and Sarpinskiy islands. Their assignment was not to allow the enemy to cross the Volga, should he succeed in annihilating the defenders of the city. Other forces were countering the feeling of doom. What were they? This puzzles Western ideologues to this day.

The formations and units of the 62nd Army, which included detachments of armed workers from the three plants, were resisting the pressure of elite Hitlerite divisions along the main direction. They repelled 10 to 12 attacks daily. Even wherever the fascists managed to advance no one retreated. Dead men cannot retreat. They remain in their lines, invincible.

"Murderous fire must welcome the aggressors in each house, basement and stair way." That is the way the assignment was given to all political workers in units and large units by K. A. Gurov, member of the army's military council.

"Street combat," he said, "demands of the political worker the ability to reach every soldier and to strengthen his faith in his ability and in the power of his weapon. He must know that we trust him as we trust ourselves."

Kuz'ma Akimovich Gurov.... The first time I saw him was in Karpet, on a hot, dusty day. We were retreating toward Stalingrad. The battalion's leading company, whose commissar I was, stopped around a well. A woman was giving us water straight from the bucket. How much water had been drawn out of the well was difficult to say but when the bucket finally reached me, all it had was wet sand.

"Antosha, bring the milk!" the woman shouted to a youngster who was watching us from a window.

Carrying an earthenware pot in his hands, the youngster walked toward me. At that point I saw standing next to me a very sullen man, with connecting eyebrows above his nose and a dust-covered face which seemed to have forgotten how to smile. There were two diamonds on his tab and a star on his sleeve, the insignia of a division commissar. I stood at attention. The boy, obviously realizing that this was a senior commander, extended the pot to him.

"Drink, drink," the woman kept saying.

"Thank you, mother, keep it for yourself," the commissar said through his dry lips.

"Drink, uncle, drink. There will be more tomorrow for us," the boy begged. Tomorrow? Who could say what tomorrow would bring and would there be a tomorrow at all?

The commissar looked at the milk and gave me the pot which I passed on to a machine gunner behind me. The pot made the round of the troops which had not received any water and was returned to the boy untouched.

"You see," the commissar said, turning to me. "The privates as well are politicians, no worse than us...."

At that time I did not immediately understand the meaning of these words. I realized later that his main concern was to strengthen in the people faith in their own forces. Faith and trust, Gurov told commanders and political workers, create a good moral climate in any subunit and any circumstances. Without this we are dooming ourselves to a bitter outcome.

Gurov could be seen most frequently in the front lines. He did not like company but occasionally I had the occasion to see with him the various defense areas in the city.... On one occasion, we had a hard time reaching

a battalion of "devils," as the marines of the 284th Division, who had come from the Pacific, were known. On the eve they had pushed the Hitlerites out of the Krasnyy Oktyabr' settlement. Now they themselves were in danger of being surrounded and Gurov had decided to visit them.

"Aviation is the main trump in the enemy's offensive tactics. We must deprive him of it. But how? Let us shorten the no man's land to the throw of a hand grenade; a bomb is not a bullet, let the trenchlines be close to each other and let the Hitlerites strike at their own troops. This you have already accomplished. Now, dig yourselves in deeper. I know that seamen are not used to shovels but if you want to survive... Without bombing strikes the fascists will be unable to get you out of here. If they try to surround the battalion don't stay idle. So far you have only one battalion facing you. In a one-to-one situation no one knows who is surrounding whom. If the enemies decide to split the battalion they would have to set up a ring around each section and even each sector."

Gurov gathered in a ravine the command and political personnel of the infantry regiment which had been brought to reinforce the defense of the plant sector.

"Every soldier must know who is watching him and will not shame himself or let his commander down," Kuz'ma Akimovich said. "A commander or political worker who turns his eyes away from the troops loses the right to command them. The commander has ordered divisional and regimental staffs moved to the front line, close to the battle order. I emphasize the word 'close.' This is dictated by the circumstances of fighting for a city and street combat."

At dusk, returning to army headquarters, located at the southern slope of Mamayev Kurgan, he immediately went to look up Krylov in his pillbox, to seek information on the daily situation. Krylov showed him the map and continued his telephone conversation:

"What?... The staff cannot work normally under such circumstances? Understandably, it would like to cross the Volga. But tell anyone who would like to do so on his own to leave behind his party card here, on the right bank, so that he will no longer be among the communists who will be shot down on this end.... Am I being cruel? Here is Kuz'ma Akimovich, perhaps he may soften my words, I will let him talk."

Gurov took the receiver and added:

"... Or else let them shoot themselves.... We have no other suggestions to make."

It was rumored that Gurov was somewhat cruel. Yes, he was merciless toward those who either failed or were unwilling to understand the requirements of the times and the circumstances. No single case of cowardice or abandoning one's positions was to be left without the stern conclusions drawn by political workers or without punishment. How else could it be, when thousands and

thousands of people were fighting while scorning death? Gurov was directly answerable to the party for this moral readiness on the part of every defender of the city to fight to the end. Yet how good he was and what fatherly simplicity he could show when he met soldiers who had distinguished themselves. He would draw them to himself and have frank talks. He tried to find the "soul strategy" of everyone.

"What decisions should be made by a private or a commander if he finds himself alone defending a house?" Kuz'ma Akimovich asked while talking with guardsmen in a company of submachine gunners in Rodimtsev's division.

"Choose a suitable position and repel enemy attacks with accurate fire," one of them answered.

"And if he runs out of ammunition?"

"Use the grenades," someone else added.

"What do you do when the grenades run out?"

"There is the shovel. A fascist skull can be split with a shovel too," someone else prompted.

"They kick the shovel out of your hands. What do you do then?"

"We use our fists and teeth," the first said, summing up the general opinion.

In the battles in the city districts and the heaps of ruins every soldier occasionally acted as his own tactician and strategist. Many company, battalion and regimental commanders, including political workers, feared this kind of independence. Gurov, as a member of the army military council, relied, as he liked to say, "on the strategic wisdom of loyal and firm troops."

"A commander who has been able to mobilize the minds of all his subordinates in the search for new strategic means of fighting the enemy," he said, "can justifiably consider that he is making a major contribution to the enemy's defeat."

Thousands of minds sought and found the type of ways and means for repelling enemy tank and infantry attacks and soon afterwards Paulus and his staff began to complain in their reports that "the bolsheviks have built on the approaches to the Volga a number of impregnable fortresses."

Fortresses...

This occurred during the second half of September 1942. The battalions of the 92nd Brigade from the North Sea, who had arrived in Stalingrad on 17 September, were thrown into battle against the Hitlerites advancing toward the center of the city from the south. At first they carried out their combat assignments quite successfully. They threw back the fascists toward the

foothills of Dar-Gora and entrenched themselves along the KIM, Terskaya and Kozlovskaya streets, south of the Tsaritsa River. The brigade staff and political department were housed in a brick school building on Akademicheskaya Street. Then major enemy aviation, tanks and infantry forces were hurled at them and toward the end of 23 September information from the brigade became conflicting: the staff reported one thing and the political department another....

On the evening of 24 September I was sent there to clarify the circumstances. Following the telephone wire I reached the basement of the brick school.

"This is the headquarters?" I asked the soldier on duty.

"It was here and left."

"What are you protecting?"

"Passages. You will see. The political department is there."

The headquarters basement was empty. Bits of paper and file holders cracked under my feet. The dull light of an oil lamp shone in a far corner. There, sitting behind a desk with a telephone set sat a tired-looking man. There was a two-bar insignia on his tab. I showed him my papers. He identified himself:

"Vlasov, political department senior instructor, battalion commissar."

He explained that, acting as chief of the political department, he had not followed the headquarters which had moved across the Volga in all probability, essentially abandoning the battalions--nearly 6,000 men. Vlasov took over the command and was now contacting battalion commanders and commissars. The map spread on his desk showed the city and the brigade's positions.

"Permission to report to the army command," said he, "that the North Sea brigade is continuing to defend its positions."

I stayed with him until midnight. One after the other commanders and political workers came to the basement and reported the situation. They did not ask where the brigade commander and his staff had gone. In turn, without telling them, Vlasov indicated what had to be done. His only thought was to use all forces and means against the advancing Hitlerites.

The battalions continued heroically to defend their lines. A machine gun squad headed by Andrey Khozyainov was defending the elevator sector. On 25 September fires burst out on the elevator. The grain was burning, the people could hardly breathe in the heat and smoke. The machine gunners repelled the fierce attacks of the fascist submachine gunners who, protected by the tanks, were approaching the elevator only to be mowed down by the machine guns.

On Akademicheskaya and KIM streets and in front of the track overpass artillery battery commander P. P. Kachalin, infantry battalion commander V. Ye. Yakovlev and party organizer V. I. Kumirov began to organize sorties at night in enemy lines with shovels as their only weapons, after their ammunition had run out.

Many years later, recalling the difficult situation of the brigade at that time, I asked Boris Semenovitch Vlasov:

"What stopped you and made you stay on the right bank?"

"What?... Since my Komsomol years I had become accustomed to obey party decisions honestly and to the end. Only death could have relieved me from the obligations I assumed at that critical time. As to those who acted otherwise, they did not escape the severe punishment of wartime.

Fortresses, fortresses... The left flank of Rodimtsev's Guards Division was covered by the firm garrison of a house subsequently named after Sgt Ya. F. Pavlov. Next to it, even closer to the Volga, stood a mill--a building with massive red brick walls--a good observation point for the flank. It was linked with a telephone cable.

A mill... It stands there to this day--a silent witness of the amazing firmness of the defenders of the city. Its walls bear the marks of fierce hurricanes of lead and steel. Put your hand on the western wall and you will feel no fewer than five holes made by fragments and armor-piercing bullets.

On 30 September, after a barbaric bombing and strafing, communications with the mill was interrupted. There was concern for the defense of the flank of Rodimtsev's division. Frequent exchanges of fire could be heard from that direction--the Hitlerites were trying to reach the headquarters but were failing. Who was holding them back?

After communications had been reestablished I rang up the mill. The voice at the other end was hoarse:

"Chief of guards garrison Pvt Il'ya Voronov speaking."

"How many are you?"

"Five now."

"Who specifically?"

"I, a machine gun, an armor-piercing gun and a telephone on the grenade case."

That night a staff officer and I managed to reach him. We were accompanied by three guardsmen carrying submachine guns.

"I repeat, I am not alone. I have a submachine gun on the first floor, a mounted machine gun on the second, the armor-piercing gun on the third and here, at the very top, I have my telephone with hand grenades. Should the fascists crawl here I would throw grenades down the stairs. I would lob a couple and go back to the telephone. However, they have failed. I did not let them. So I kept running from the armor-piercing gun to the machine gun and kept firing my submachine gun from the first floor. Now, with the submachine guns this will no longer be a mill but a fortress," he said smiling, lighting a hand-rolled cigarette. His eyes were shining. A daring, cunning soldier. He had decided to turn the mill into a fortress. But could it be a fortress without him?!

The choice of observation points to correct the fire of the batteries located behind the Volga was considered particularly important during the combats in the industrial area. Wherever one looked there was wreckage, piles of armature, tipped-over freight cars and behind them the assault tanks with Hitlerite submachine gunners. How could one detect them on time, before the attack, without high positions on the bank of the Volga?

"There are such heights! They can be found," Vasiliy Grafchikov, the commissar, said.

"Where?"

"Here, on the grounds of the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant. You doubt it?... Send the spotters to me tomorrow and I will open their eyes."

During the night, Grafchikov with three scouts set up a spotting area on the smokestack of the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant. The next morning the spotters with their supplies went up and were able to spot the hidden approaches to the sector. The batteries behind the Volga went to work. Now their shells fell precisely on target.

This enraged even Paulus himself, who ordered his Ju-87 diver bombers to destroy all plant smokestacks. Hundreds of bombs and heavy shells tore up the earth here, the wrecked walls of the plants turned into dust but no smokestack crumbled down.

It was then that Vasiliy Grafchikov was appointed reconnaissance commander of the 284th Infantry Division. Until the end of the battle for the city he observed the enemy from the plant's smokestack.

"The smokestacks are the bayonets of the plants!" he said, aptly assessing the situation. "They were the target of Paulus' regiments and divisions. After we began to triangulate accurately enemy locations," he went on to say, "Paulus ordered his reconnaissance-sappers to blow up the smokestacks. But they did not even dare to come close, for certain death awaited them at each step. The result was that Paulus neither knew nor was able to find out that our forces were regrouping. Meanwhile, we knew and saw everything the enemy did. The smokestacks were the forts and fortresses," Grafchikov confidently concluded.

At the beginning of October, according to reconnaissance reports, an offensive of major enemy tanks and infantry on the plant area was expected. In what direction would the main strike be?

On his observation point, joined by General Pozharskiy, who commanded the artillery, Chuykov closely surveyed the enemy. Tanks appeared in the valley between the airport settlement and the Krasnyy Ochyabr' Plant settlement. There were about a dozen of them. They advanced under smoke and fog cover. The batteries beyond the Volga opened fire. The shells were exploding closer or farther from them. The tanks were already firing at the no man's land. Suddenly, one of them caught fire. Who had hit it? Chuykov turned his telescope in the direction of the no man's land. There, in the shrubs, he saw the flame of yet another shot and a second tank caught fire. The fire from the shrubs was accurate. A nimble, clever artilleryman was loading and firing a gun alone.

The tank attack on this sector came to an end.

In the dark runners located this brave artilleryman and brought him to Chuykov's pillbox. He was a dark-complected, high-cheekboned man, with sharp, cunning eyes.

"You called for me?"

"Yes," Chuykov said, smiling at Gurov, who had entered after the soldier.

"Not good. A person could die there and surrender my position to the Germans. Understood?"

"Understood, please excuse me, friend, but tell me. Who are you and what is your unit?"

"Pvt Gavriil Protod'yakonov, a Yakut. Born 1917. Went to the front at the beginning of the war. My unit was broken up and retreated...."

"Why did you remain?"

"You should not be asking such questions, comrade chief. I stayed on. It is a good gun, it should not be left. One of the horses was killed and then the second. What is to be done with the gun? So I dug a trench and began shooting."

"It was you, then, who destroyed the two tanks?"

"Don't be mad, there will be more. Give me an assistant as soon as you can."

"I will, but you must know that your gun is in no man's land."

"I know. This is good."

"Why?"

Gavrill quickly traced on the dusty table the outlines of the no man's land and explained:

"German bombs don't fall here." He moved his finger to the center of the no man's land. "The shells pass by. My gun is aimed and my eyes look. And then I hit the tank. Understood?"

"Understood. What about machine guns?"

"I don't fear them." The Yakut winked at Gurov. "My shield is the gun carriage and then I dig a trench, I dig a lot and fire at the tanks."

"Good man! Have some tea."

Chuykov poured some brandy for the soldier. He drank it quickly, winked at Gurov once more.

"Good tea, give us some more."

Chuykov and Gurov were pleased to find out that a simple soldier had essentially approved their decision to shorten the no man's land to a grenade-hurling distance and to reinforce the front line with direct-pointing guns.

A new tactical unit--the small assault group--was developed in the course of street combats.

The decision to set up such groups was preceded by a great deal of thinking on the part of political organs and party organizations, which tried to increase in commanders and troops faith in their own strength, and to strengthen the feeling of trust among all defenders of the city. Without this it would have been difficult to rely on organization and constant readiness to help one another, not to mention interaction and deeply conscious obedience. The point was that the assault group included artillerymen, mortarmen, sappers, submachine gunners, signalers and scouts. Although their skills were different they had to operate like a single mechanism. The purpose of such a group was to provide active defense and to impose its will on the enemy: to strike day and night, to destroy him physically and morally on an around-the-clock basis by unexpectedly hitting at his flanks and rear. The assault group tactic meant that every soldier had to act decisively.

Responsibility for the selection of such groups was borne by those who were believed to be good judges of people, to know them thoroughly. Their nucleus consisted of party and Komsomol members.

The actions of assault groups were extensively covered at that time in army and front-line newspapers, the central press and the radio. Today we can compare our assessments with those of the men who stood on their way.

In his notes, Helmut Weltz, who commanded the 179th Sappers Battalion during the Stalingrad battle, quotes the order of General von Schwerin, commander of the 79th Infantry Division, dated 11 November 1942: "1. Considerable enemy

forces are holding some parts of the Krasnyy Ochyabr' Plant area. The main resistance center is the Martin shop (Shop No 4). The seizure of this shop will mean the fall of Stalingrad. 2. The 179th Reinforced Sappers Battalion will take Shop No 4 on 11 November and will make its way to the Volga."

Weltz's battalion was very experienced in assaulting strongly fortified lines and destroying engineering installations. It had taken cities and villages, smashed pillboxes and eliminated powerful resistance centers. Now, all that stood in front of it was a single shop. The German battalion had 190 experienced sappers. The division commander reinforced it with an infantry battalion, which brought the total up to 1,000 soldiers. The shop was to be assaulted, according to Weltz's recollections, early in the morning. During the night the fascists occupied their assault positions. Then the assault began. "I leaped out of my foxhole, took five steps forward, but the fire once again nailed me to the ground next to a corporal. I pushed and shouted at him. No answer. I pushed his helmet. His head turned. I was looking at a dead man. I threw myself ahead, came across a second corpse and lay in a ditch.... There was a thunderous noise. Hand grenades were being thrown at us.... I gave the runner a written order for the troops to lie still until dark and then to retreat." Meanwhile, an indignant von Schwerin was issuing orders on the radio to advance!

Our own signals troops recorded his conversation with Weltz:

"Why did you stop?"

"We faced a wall of fire. There were shells, mines and grenades...."

"Cowards, you are afraid to die.... Forward!"

"My soldiers are loyal to the Fuhrer but they are being fired at by rocks, bricks, ghosts, more ghosts...."

Toward the evening von Schwerin showed some mercy:

"Pull back what's left of the battalion."

"I cannot. We are stuck. These are devils: they won't let us advance or retreat...."

"Won't let us advance and won't let us retreat" is the best evaluation of the firm defense at the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant, where assault groups were the main forces. Nothing better could be said.

Yes, that is how it was. An entire army of aggressors became drawn into an exhausting battle for the ruins of a city, stuck from the northern to the southern edges of Stalingrad. This enabled our command to concentrate its best reserves on the enemy's flanks and to deal him a crushing blow, surrounding a force of Hitlerite strike divisions totaling 330,000 soldiers, officers and generals.

After the Stalingrad victory the regiments and divisions which were given the title of guard were deployed along the fronts which were to act in the main directions against the fascist aggressors.

The moral and political maturity acquired on the Volga fortresses was needed in all the fronts as the grain seed for a most bountiful harvest.

The Suggestion of the Times

I recently had the opportunity to participate in a meeting between Stalingrad battle veterans and the young people of the city hero of Volgograd. Solemn marches took place and wreaths were laid at monuments and obelisks. I was deeply touched by the fact that the young people were not only present at the ceremony but had become profoundly involved in it. Such measures are quite important, for they develop in the young a feeling of responsibility for themselves, for their own time, an awareness of the need to relate one's thoughts and accomplishments with those which was experienced by one's city, people and country 40 years ago.

I was particularly touched when I saw Vanya Smorodin among the athletes who had marched to Mamayev Kurgan.

"A son of the city!"...

This was not a random exclamation on my part.

Vanya is the son of Nikolay Smorodin, a friend from my youth, with whom I went to the front. During the Stalingrad battle, particularly the combats at the Nizhny settlement of the Tractors Plant, Vanya's father acquired a reputation among his comrades-in-arms for his skill in handling hand grenades, withstand pain and make correct decisions. At that time Nikolay Smorodin was a scout. He carried out daring sorties toward the fascists who had entered the shop at the Tractors Plant. He was a steadfast and daring Siberian from Chainka village, Kupinskiy Rayon, Novosibirsk Oblast. He could not recall the number of Hitlerites he had killed at the plant's shops with his accurate hand-grenade throws, but after each of his night sallies the Hitlerites engaged in extensive firing at each other in pursuit of the scout. Better than anyone else they knew the casualties that this heroic Siberian inflicted on them.

However, my fellow countryman was not lucky. He made a slight error in a clash with enemy tanks and his feet were crushed. Nikolay returned to his native Siberian village without feet but his strong hands found something to do. He repaired the old harvester and started driving the wheel tractor. He married at the end of the war and had one son, then three daughters and another son--the youngest, Vanya. Then, however, both father and mother died tragically in an automobile accident. Kolya Smorodin was no longer alive but his fellow members of the same regiment did not abandon his children. They brought the 7-year-old Vanya to the city where his father had fought bravely and put him in a boarding school. Vanya graduated from the 10th grade, became the youth wrestling champion in the city and in the army earned the

title of master of sports. Following his army service he returned to Volgograd and joined the MVD--to maintain public order in his adopted city.

I shared my thoughts about the young Volgograd patriots, people such as Vanya Smorodin, with Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Tsygankov. He told me that this is the second consecutive year during which a construction detachment of students from the pedagogical institute are working without pay in Uryupinskiy Rayon. Sixty members of the detachment are building the boarding school. They have named their detachment "Danko."

Virtually all Volgograd plants have brigades the honorary members of which were heroes of the battle for Stalingrad. The brigades fulfill their production assignments and the earnings go to the Peace Fund.

Vanya Smorodin, Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Tsygankov and I crossed the Tsaritsa River on the railway bridge. I tried to identify the pillboxes and caponiers I remembered but time had leveled them even with the soil. Only one site remained, a shallow ravine where the mortars had been placed. A fire for broiling meat had been started in the middle of it. We heard laughter. Emerging on the site, we saw three girls who insistently begged us for cigarettes. The boy with them pretended not to see us and turned up the sound of a radio transistor he held.

We caught the middle of a song:

... The grain is whispering again
Where battles were fought,
Where your sons are sleeping
After sheltering you with their bodies....

The group was suddenly electrified by this loud, high-strung rhythm and the screaming sounds produced by the orchestra. The girls jumped and started dancing. No, this was not a dance but some kind of sleepwalk. We froze.

But the singer on the radio was tireless. Shifting from a deafening fortissimo to a hoarse "intimate" whisper, he went on:

... Beloved country,
This is my only home, only this.
I look at your blue eyes and love
All of you, what was, everything that is....

We all asked ourselves silently: Was this composed and performed with any thought of the land on which and for which our soldiers died? The land on which we stood and which was indeed sacred although not marked with a marble monument!

It was precisely here, in front of the bridge, during the days of our defense, that Valentina Denisovna Storozhenko committed her immortal exploit. The mother of two sons--members of the people's militia--Valentina Denisovna was captured by the Hitlerites on 14 September, together with her daughter

and her frail granddaughter, in the little garden in her home on Nagornaya Street. With submachine guns pointed at her she was forced to lead to the center of the city a company of fascist soldiers in Red Army uniforms. The daughter and granddaughter remained behind as hostages.

"Quickly, quickly!" said the Hitlerite officer who was trying to find the shortest way to Komsomol'skiy Square, where the city defense committee and communications center were located.

Valentina Denisovna led them to the strongpoint in front of the railway bridge crossing the Tsaritsa. When she was no more than 50 steps away from our firing positions she shouted:

"Sonnies, don't trust your eyes! I am being followed by camouflaged foreign beasts. Fire!..."

The enemy company was destroyed. Valentina Denisovna Storozhenko died.

What was in her heart at that moment, what made her decide to take this step, when her daughter and granddaughter were being held by the fascists?! Nevertheless, the courageous woman had made her decision.

Valentina Denisovna Storozhenko, a Stalingrad mother.... And, by my side, was Vanya Smorodin, a son of the city.

As I think of the sources of this mass heroism and my experience in party-political work gained during the battles for the streets of Stalingrad, the only thing I can say is that in the hard battles, along all the city defense lines, there was also a battle between two ideologies. Its outcome is known. Today a no less tense struggle is being waged for peace, for the triumph of the forces of progress. The living memory of past victories provides a firm support in this struggle.

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TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER BETTER

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[Article by Z. Kruglova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries]

[Text] In the course of the present difficult international situation created by the actions of aggressive imperialist circles, which are urging on tension and aggravating the danger to universal peace, the CPSU and the Soviet state are engaged in a dedicated struggle for stopping the endless growth of arsenals of increasingly destructive weapons and achieving a turn for the better in the climate of relations among nations and countries and preventing a nuclear war. The firm continuity of Soviet foreign policy on such matters was reasserted at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "I must say with the greatest feeling of responsibility that Soviet foreign policy was and remains as defined in the decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said at the plenum. "Securing a lasting peace and defending the rights of peoples to independence and social progress remain the invariable objectives of our foreign policy."

More than ever before, peoples whose active and purposeful actions can remove the threat of nuclear war and safeguard peace and, therefore, life on our planet, are advancing to the proscenium of history. A durable and reliable peace presumes, in addition to everything else, the elimination of hostility, discord and relations of mistrust among nations. It demands constant, painstaking efforts to strengthen relations of good neighborhood and friendship. Without mutual trust among people speaking different languages, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, "neither peaceful relations among nations nor any successful development of anything valuable in modern civilization" is possible ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 240). In terms of international relations, these words are exceptionally relevant today as well, when an acute struggle for the equality of nations and peoples is continuing in the world as an important component of successfully countering imperialist policy, which is trying to use the encouragement of national discord, nationalism and chauvinism as means which would facilitate the pursuit of its aggressive policy.

It is precisely from the viewpoint of the creation of an atmosphere of international trust, which is so necessary in maintaining a durable peace, that the Soviet people approach problems of cultural exchange among nations

and human contacts in all their variety. The importance of this area today has increased even further, for tension, the arms race and the psychological warfare waged by imperialism against us and against real socialism at large raise particularly urgently the question of the role of international trust and the need to strengthen it.

The steady broadening of the social dialogue, the further development of cultural exchanges and increased contacts among citizens of different countries are the main means for countering active efforts to replace normal contacts among nations and states with diktats, a variety of "sanctions," and propaganda interwoven in sermons preaching hatred and fear. In this case the activities of mass public organizations play a great role. One of them, in our country, is the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (SSOD), whose objective is to contribute comprehensively to strengthening the reciprocal trust between the nations of the Soviet Union and other countries and the creation of an atmosphere which favors the development of cooperation among states.

I

Our Soviet state, which proclaimed with Lenin's Decree on Peace the beginning of an essentially new age in relations among countries and peoples, acted from the very first days of its activity as a supporter of extensive international exchange of truthful information, not only as a means for strengthening trust but also an objective process of international contacts based on the universal nature of the spiritual culture of mankind, which cannot develop without constant reciprocal enrichment based on exposure to the values related to national cultures. It would be useful to recall today the fact that during the very first months of its existence the land of the soviets, taking into consideration these factors, took steps to establish international cultural relations. Thus, on 30 December 1917 the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs issued an appeal to the peoples and governments of other countries in which it emphasized, among others, that the Soviet republic "sets as its task the creation of conditions under which... all nations could unite in economic and cultural cooperation."

Under the extremely complex conditions of the civil war and the struggle against the intervention, surmounting the tremendous pressure of counter-revolutionary forces and domestic and foreign reaction, the Soviet government followed a line of implementation and development of cultural contacts with foreign countries to the extent of the then-existing possibilities. With the participation of the public efforts were made to create institutions for such purposes and to look for the best possible forms of contacts. This work was done under V. I. Lenin's guidance. Personally, to the extent to which this was possible, he helped to promote contacts between the men of science and culture of the socialist state and representatives of other countries.

The organization which preceded the SSOD appeared at the beginning of the 1920s. In September 1923, a Foreign Aid Commission was set up under the USSR Central Executive Committee, consisting of representatives of several state

and public organizations. It began by combining various types of foreign aid received to eliminate the consequences of the hunger which raged in the Volga area, after which it began to expand its work on the development of international cultural relations. Soon afterwards the creation of a joint information bureau under the commission was decided, which could assume the work on "providing information and other aid to societies of 'Friends of the New Russia,' which were beginning to appear abroad." This marked the beginning of organized cooperation between the Soviet public and societies of friends of our country and organizations that wished to develop a cultural, economic and scientific rapprochement with respective circles in the Soviet state.

The strengthening of the internal situation in the USSR and the growth of its international reputation as well as practical experience gained led to the next step--the All-Union Society of Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (VOKS) was created on a voluntary basis in 1925, with a view to contributing to the "establishment and development of scientific and cultural relations between establishments, public organizations and cultural workers in the USSR and abroad." The society conducted such activities, which have left a profound mark on the history of international cultural relations in our country, for more than 3 decades.

As a means of communicating among nations, by virtue of their nature, cultural contacts are called upon to involve the broad popular masses. Participation of these masses increased steadily as objective prerequisites to this effect were provided. After World War II mass public organizations began to develop in our country and elsewhere, which continued the development of friendship and cultural cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and foreign countries under new historical circumstances. New organization was established in February 1958 on the basis of the VOKS and with the participation of the already existing Soviet societies for friendship with a number of foreign countries--the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries--was called upon to carry out extensive tasks related to strengthening friendship and cultural cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and all peoples of the world through reciprocal acquaintance with their histories, economics, culture, science, and way of life, the organization of close contacts among representatives of broad social circles and exchange of experience in the various areas of national creative activities. The new organization appeared in circumstances marked by a growing movement on the part of the popular masses against the nuclear threat and for ending the cold war. From the very beginning it became one of the most active components in the movement of peace-loving forces.

Since then, the ideas governing the development of friendship and cultural cooperation with peoples of other countries have become a real material force and a mass social movement at home and abroad. Today the SSOD consists of 80 Soviet associations and societies of friendship with individual countries and groups of countries, and 14 SSOD republic societies of friendship and divisions in cities such as Leningrad, Volgograd, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Novosibirsk, Sochi and Togliatti. Also members of the SSOD are 13 associations and sections of men of science and culture. The friendship societies have more than 1,000 divisions in republics, krays, oblasts, and cities and

about 30,000 primary organizations at enterprises and establishments. Such a broad network of organizations makes it possible to promote virtually throughout the country the internationalist upbringing of the Soviet people and to acquaint them closely with the lives and cultures of other nations. It also makes it possible to maintain foreign relations with more than 9,000 organizations and many public figures and representatives of science and culture in 140 countries. The SSOD is participating in the work of a number of international organizations such as the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the World Federation of Sister Cities, and others. The Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities, operating within the framework of the SSOD, coordinates contacts among 140 Soviet cities and 300 cities in nonsocialist countries.

Social relations are becoming richer and more varied with every passing year. The friendship months, days and weeks of the Soviet Union abroad and similar actions in the USSR devoted to foreign countries, sponsored by the friendship societies with the participation of many other organizations, have earned universal recognition. They make it possible extensively to cover the cultural, social, economic and political aspects of the life of different nations. The societies organize a large number of other measures as well, which contribute to reciprocal information and cultural exchanges. Many of them have organized to this effect their cultural centers and book and motion picture libraries, printing facilities and tourist companies. Direct contacts among different Soviet and foreign public organizations, enterprises and establishments which participate in the activities of friendship societies are developing. Society activists travel extensively to study the various ways of life.

Quite naturally, the activities of the social organizations are a major addition to, if not an independent component of, the broad contacts which have been developed by the Soviet state. Let us note, in particular, that along official channels the USSR currently maintains cultural relations with more than 120 countries and that more than 100 of them have signed corresponding intergovernmental agreements. There is hardly another country in the world which could be compared to the Soviet Union in terms of the scope of such relations. Public activities add to official contacts an element of direct and live participation and, in L. I. Brezhnev's figurative expression, such activities strengthen and cement that on which governmental and political leaders are working for the sake of strengthening peace. Such activities are fully consistent with the stipulations of the Final Act of the European conference, which called for increasing dissemination of knowledge and understanding of the various aspects of life in other countries and to develop and seek new forms of cultural contacts. Cooperation within friendship societies is an influential factor in the struggle for improving intergovernmental relations and developing mutually profitable relations among states in many areas.

"We highly value the noble activities of Soviet and foreign friendship organizations, for they contribute to the better understanding among countries and the reciprocal enrichment of their cultures. Such organizations help to develop among the broad masses feelings of fraternity and friendship among

nations," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "You, dear friends," he said, addressing the delegates and foreign guests attending the Fourth All-Union SSOD Conference in 1981, "are doing an important and very necessary thing by helping to develop friendly relations among nations. Understanding among countries and friendship among nations are the reliable foundations on which we can build a truly strong and just peace.... That is why the honorable and responsible mission you have assumed is directly related to the struggle against war and the preservation and consolidation of peace. Today there is no task more important or urgent than this one."

II

The joint activities of the friendship societies linking the Soviet Union with the other socialist countries, whose peoples are building a new society, are particularly extensive and varied. Our countries have developed a historically unparalleled type of relations among countries, which are truly just, equal and fraternal. Relations among fraternal socialist countries have become true relations among peoples, for they involve the direct participation of millions and millions of people.

The significance of the mass organizations in these countries rises in the course of the development of cooperation among socialist countries. The role of the friendship societies increases as well. Their functions are becoming increasingly broad under the influence of objective historical processes. Today they are popular, multimillion-strong organizations in the true meaning of the word, covering all population strata. Soviet societies for friendship with respective organizations in the socialist countries number more than 20,000 primary organizations. We would be fully justified in saying that no single mass measure related to strengthening the friendship among fraternal peoples takes place without their participation. The members of the socialist comity have similar concerns related to economics, social policy, culture and other areas and a broad field of activity of the friendship organizations is their participation in exchanging experiences in resolving a great variety of problems in building the new society. Contacts among nations within the single family of the socialist comity are becoming richer and more varied with every passing year. In this case the mass development of direct contacts among people is of tremendous importance.

The friendship societies are credited with mass political campaigns dedicated to strengthening unity, friendship and cooperation among socialist countries and their cohesion in the face of hostile imperialist activities. Mass measures in support of revolutionary Cuba against U.S. subversive activities and provocations and campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in the struggle for their sovereignty and socialist development, and the struggle waged by the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea and the unification of the country on a peaceful democratic basis, have become milestones in their activities.

The friendship societies are doing a great deal of work to acquaint the working people with the ideas and decisions of fraternal party congresses, thus encouraging the activeness of the masses. The societies develop various

forms of participation in processes related to progress in socialist cooperation. They explain its tasks and role in the life of the peoples of the fraternal countries and help accustom the masses to the culture of the international society and to enhance their taste for using and aspiration to use reciprocal experience. They directly participate in the practical study of such experience and in the organization of international socialist competition. This includes the extensive dissemination at GDR enterprises and organizations, initiated by the German-Soviet Friendship Society, of a movement of collectives in the name of German-Soviet friendship, and the activities of the nearly 7,000 circles for the study and application of progressive Soviet experience organized by the society. This also includes the movement of socialist labor brigades in the name of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship in Czechoslovakia, including currently the participation of more than 13,000 collectives, and so on. Extensive participation in the development of relations among oblasts, cities and rayons in the socialist countries is a new feature in the cooperation among friendship societies. Today about 1,300 Soviet production collectives are in touch with collectives in fraternal countries. Such types of direct relations among production collectives, involving thousands of workers and specialists employed by the national economy, are of invaluable importance in resolving not only strictly production but social problems as well and in shaping a socialist way of life.

The psychological warfare launched by the imperialists against the socialist world demands of the social organizations in the fraternal countries increased attention to ideological work. Our country is broadening reciprocal activities in this area as well, i.e., in the dissemination of the ideals and achievements of real socialism and the struggle against anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Multilateral meetings among activists and their leaders with a view to coordinating activities in the various ideological areas and upgrading their efficiency and role in the spiritual unification of fraternal nations have become a regular feature in the activities of friendship societies in the socialist countries. Of late this work is being increasingly focused on problems related to the current worsening of the international situation caused by the imperialists and the tasks of mobilizing the broad masses for action in support of the peaceful offensive mounted by the fraternal countries and the practical implementation of their peace initiatives. The joint measures undertaken by the friendship societies related to intensifying the struggle for peace and countering anti-Soviet and antisocialist propaganda are of great importance in the development of such activities. This includes the 1982 meeting among general secretaries of friendship societies of socialist countries, which was held in Prague, a round-table meeting held in Moscow by activists of friendship societies, involving noted international specialists, scientists, and journalists, an international symposium held in Sofia and the preparations currently under way for convening new similar public gatherings. To the social organizations in the fraternal socialist countries active participation in the struggle for peace is also a matter of tremendous educational importance in their internationalist efforts aimed at the further unification of their peoples and in describing the great advantages of the socialist system compared to capitalism, thus promoting a feeling of pride in our system. In this area as well, despite substantial accomplishments, all of us face new, responsible and interesting and thankful tasks.

III

One of the most important factors in contemporary developments, acting in favor of peace and expanding cooperation among nations, is the increased role which countries liberated from colonial oppression play in international relations and strengthening their cooperation with the socialist countries. Our social relations with the liberated countries are growing on the basis of the increasing coincidence of interests and objectives between the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity, on the one hand, and the liberated countries, on the other.

The many-faceted Soviet-Indian cooperation, which covers today a variety of economic, scientific, cultural, educational and health care areas, is an example of such fruitful relations. It would be no exaggeration to say that Soviet-Indian friendship has become in both countries a rooted popular tradition and has been adopted by the broad masses as their own. Public organizations, including friendship societies, deserve great credit for this. The Indian-Soviet Cultural Society has become a mass organization in the course of its 30 years of life. The Society of Friends of the Soviet Union, which involves the participation of noted political figures in the country, parliament and state legislative assembly parliaments, scientists and members of the intelligentsia and the trade unions, which was created in 1981, has also begun to play a major role in expanding relations with the USSR. Addressing the constituent conference of the new society, Prime Minister I. Gandhi pointed out that she is participating in this measure not only as the head of government but as a sincere friend of the Soviet Union as well-- of a peaceful country which is providing selfless aid to many countries in Asia, Africa, and other continents. Multilateral relations and forms of cooperation with such organizations have been developed by the Society for Soviet-Indian Friendship, which is actively participating in the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Considerable experience has been acquired in developing relations between the SSOD and societies for friendship with the USSR in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Burma, Malaysia and the Philippines. Relying on the help and support of the Soviet public, the Lao-Soviet Friendship Society is becoming part of the social life of that country ever more actively. The Association for Kampuchean-Soviet Friendship, which was created in 1979, is gathering strength in its cooperation with the SSOD.

Relations between the Soviet public and the peoples of countries in tropical Africa have developed significantly, particularly in recent years. Many such countries have already set up organizations for friendship and cultural relations with the USSR, frequently headed by noted statesmen and public figures. An increasing number of Africans are showing an interest in the Soviet experience in building socialism. Soviet Union days, which enable the Africans to become acquainted with various aspects of Soviet reality, enjoy tremendous popularity among them.

Despite the very difficult situation which currently prevails in the Arab Middle East and despite major obstructions, a process of consolidation of

national democratic and anti-imperialist forces is continuing. Friendly relations between the Soviet public and the peoples of these countries are expanding and so are traditional contacts. One of the latest confirmations of this is the recently created Society of Friendship With the USSR in the Yemen Arab Republic. Such societies currently exist in 14 Near and Middle Eastern countries and the population's interest in them is increasing. The establishment of a Soviet Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, within the system of the SSOD and the Society for Palestinian-Soviet friendship in Damascus, set up several years ago, was welcomed with great satisfaction by the Arab and Soviet publics.

Unquestionably, the victory of the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan must be considered one of the list of recent significant events marking the successes achieved by the forces of national and social liberation. Soviet-Afghan relations, which have been developing on the basis of good neighborhood for many decades, have now acquired a qualitatively new development. The cooperation between the friendship societies in the two countries, bringing increasingly fruitful results in the development of a variety of relations among them and in helping the Afghan public to resolve the constructive problems facing the country, has been a structural element in relations between the Soviet and Afghan peoples.

The development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the peoples of the liberated countries takes place under complex circumstances. Feudal-tribal vestiges, religious prejudices and nationalism exert their influence at each step in these countries to this day. The imperialist circles are trying to make maximal use here of forces hostile to social progress, pitting them against the growing aspiration of the popular masses to establish friendly relations with other nations and to cooperate with the socialist countries. Under such circumstances, the activities of friendship societies, which strengthen the national sovereignty of these countries and contribute to their social progress, become even more valuable.

Social contacts between the Soviet Union and the Latin American countries are strengthening as well. The Soviet Association for Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With Latin American Countries and friendship societies in some of them have established ties with many cultural and public organizations in most Latin American countries. The Soviet societies are promoting numerous measures of solidarity with the movement of the Latin American peoples against imperialist intervention in their affairs and for national and social liberation.

Actions in the defense of peace and for putting an end to the arms race and ensuring peaceful mutually profitable cooperation among nations are a powerful unifying principle in intensifying the interaction between friendship societies in our country and corresponding organizations in the liberated countries. The recent tragic events which have occurred in various areas on earth as a result of the interference of imperialist forces in the affairs of independent countries, the involvement of American imperialism in the monstrous crimes committed by the Israeli military in Lebanon in particular, are perceived by the popular masses as obvious manifestations of imperialist policy aimed against the liberation movements and the developing countries.

In their desire to encourage the participation of the broadest social circles in our country in intensified international cooperation, the Soviet public organization, including the friendship societies, pay constant attention to maintaining good relations with their partners in the leading Western countries, whose activities, unquestionably, are having and will continue to have an increasing effect on the present and the future of the planet. Under circumstances marked by a worsening of intergovernmental relations, caused by the policy pursued by the U.S. leadership and some of its allies, the importance of social contacts between our countries becomes greater. Incidentally, this view is shared by the American and Western European organizations which are cooperating with the SSOD. Thus, for example, in the United States societies of friendship with the USSR, which exist in various cities and their central organization--the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship--are consistent supporters of a dialogue between the two countries. The 3-year cooperation program which our societies concluded in 1980, is aimed at pursuing contacts among people and maintaining a steady exchange of news and information regardless of the current circumstances.

It would be difficult to realize the limited opportunities available today to the American organizations and personalities favoring cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is a fact, however, that their number is growing and their activities are becoming more energetic. Naturally, this is helped by changes in the feelings of the people, related to the broad movement which is developing in the United States against the administration's course of unrestrained increase in armaments and war preparations.

Many public organizations in the Western European countries are making an invaluable contribution to strengthening peace through their daily efforts which are contributing to the steady broadening of peaceful relations among peoples on the continent--economic, scientific and technical and cultural contacts, relations among parliaments, public organizations and municipal authorities, and so on. Their joint efforts have served to accomplish a great deal to surmount the mistrust inherited from the cold war and to strengthen reciprocal understanding on the basis of greater reciprocal familiarity. The societies are making a great contribution to increasing cooperation among countries with different social systems in the humanitarian and other areas. Recent experience has confirmed the great possibilities of interacting with the public organizations in these countries in developing cooperation aimed at the preservation and multiplication of everything positive achieved during detente in the area of reciprocal relations. We can unconditionally assert that strong objective prerequisites exist for the further strengthening of our cooperation in the interest of peaceful interaction among countries and peoples and that no artificial barriers can obstruct such developments.

Social dialogue introduces warm and direct contacts in relations among nations. It helps the rapprochement between their positions even when official relations are brought to a standstill for one reason or another. Practical experience indicates that with increasing frequency realistically

thinking Western circles use the channels of public relations to restore contacts disturbed by the deliberate actions of circles hostile to cooperation among nations. The friendship societies are energizing their participation in the mass actions of the antiwar movement as well, guided by the desire to contribute to a lowering of the dangerous threshold of nuclear confrontation and the termination of the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons, so greatly desired by the nations. To this effect, together with other organizations, they hold antiwar meetings and demonstrations, participate in peace marches, submit questions and petitions to governments and parliaments and address appeals to the peoples of their countries. In all such activities they act above all as spokesmen for the views of the broad social strata which consider strengthening good neighborly relations with the Soviet Union the main way leading to the improvement of the international situation.

As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his address to the visitors of the USSR-FRG Trade and Industry Exhibit, in today's disturbing and restless world we see the profound meaning of the unhindered development of comprehensive contacts and exchanges and the aspiration of the nations to become more familiar with each other and to strengthen reciprocal trust and peace on earth. The importance of the efficient use of practically tested channels of communication and the search for new means to develop them is enhanced under these circumstances.

The movement of sister cities, which contributes to strengthening cooperation between their populations in the various areas of social, public and cultural life, is one of the effective communication channels. In our country this movement enjoys deserved reputation and support. Today all Soviet republics and many krais, oblasts, cities and rayons maintain steady contacts with districts, areas, provinces, aymaks, voevodstvos, uyezds and cities in the socialist countries. The number of Soviet-nonsocialist sister cities is increasing. Their contacts are coordinated within the SSOD by the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities. Every year the Soviet member cities of the association receive from and send to their sister cities as many as 500 delegations, art groups and athletic teams. Measures such as sister city days, exhibits, cultural festivals and competitions for greater familiarity with their reciprocal lives are becoming increasingly widespread.

The sister-city movement is steadily gaining new supporters, including cities in the young liberated countries. It is becoming deeper and more democratic. The participation of the population and public and political organizations in the movement is expanding. Problems of the struggle for peace, intensification of detente and restraining the arms race are being put on the agenda of the World Federation of Sister Cities, which rallies 3,500 cities in 60 countries. The latest session of the federation's leading authority, which ratified its decision to sponsor a major international action in 1983--to convene a conference of mayors and representatives of capitals and major cities in Europe for a discussion on "The City and Peace"--focused its attention on these problems.

The importance of professional relations within the peace movement is increasing. As was pointed out, along with friendship societies, the SSOD includes associations and sections which rally a number of men of Soviet science and culture. Their activities not only broaden the realm of cultural exchanges but also face increasingly topical problems of strengthening cooperation among scientists and men of culture, and consolidating their efforts in the defense of peace. More than 500 scientists and highly skilled specialists are members of the SSOD Association of Scientists. They regularly meet with their foreign colleagues to discuss topical problems. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers, of which the Association of Soviet Jurists, under the SSOD, is an active member, plays an important role in developing and formulating norms of international law consistent with the inalienable right of nations to peace, freedom, independence and noninterference in their domestic affairs. The other associations and sections--of men of literature, theater, motion pictures, medicine, and others--are also engaged in active and comprehensive efforts.

Increasingly, time is revealing the importance of the proposal formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress on creating a prestigious international committee involving scientists from different countries, which would make the broad masses the world over aware of the truth regarding the fatal consequences to mankind of a nuclear war. This applies to scientists in areas which, by virtue of their profession, can most clearly imagine the results of nuclear weapons. Essentially, however, the appeal is also addressed to all scientists and men of culture, asking them to become more profoundly aware of their sociopolitical position and turn their reputation, will and knowledge toward the creation and preservation of conditions on earth which would offer a decent life to the present and future generations. This appeal is meeting with increasing international response.

The cause which was begun in the post-October years by outstanding humanists and masters of culture through their participation in the establishment and development of the movement for friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and foreign countries, is today suitably pursued by many contemporary men of culture, science and technology. Foreign personalities, directly and actively participating in societies for friendship with the USSR and as members in their leading organs, include widely known laureates of the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Nations" such as the Italian painter Renato Guttuso, Greek poet Yannis Ritsos, Danish painter Herluf Biedstrup, Brazilian architect Oscar Nimeier, Bulgarian revolutionary and public figure Tsola Dragoycheva, Indian personality Aruna Asaf Ali, Pakistani poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz, British publicist Ivor Montague, writer James Aldridge, and many others. As for the Soviet Union, the history of Soviet friendship societies in the postwar years is inseparably linked with a large number of outstanding representatives of Soviet culture, noted scientists, famous cosmonauts and many members of the different detachments of the creative intelligentsia. Their active involvement in the movement for friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and in foreign countries clearly confirms the steadily increasing role of this movement in international life.

The distinguishing feature of the activities of the SSOD as a democratic organization is the mass involvement of the working people in our country in foreign relations. The role of the republic friendship societies is increasing with every passing year in the activities of the SSOD and in the foreign relations maintained by the Soviet public at large. Important measures which contribute to the rapprochement among peoples, such as days and weeks of the Soviet Union and Soviet culture, which show the achievements of our union republics in the areas of socioeconomic and cultural progress of the multinational Soviet people, a progress which became possible as a result of the implementation of the Leninist national policy of friendship among the peoples and the socialist solution of the national problem, are regularly carried out with the participation of the public in many foreign countries.

At the same time, the republic friendship societies, with their widespread network of local organizations, are becoming in our country a base for mass undertakings devoted to the life and culture of other nations. The societies and their branches, together with other Soviet organizations, sponsor more than 55,000 meetings, friendship evenings and various cultural actions every year. Work with foreign delegations and tourists visiting the USSR, on the part of friendship societies and other organizations, is an organic part of such activities. About half a million foreigners attend annually meetings sponsored by SSOD organizations in Moscow and other localities, thus meeting the cultural and professional interests of our guests, developing contacts and exchanging views with Soviet people. The clubs for friendship with peoples in foreign countries, established in many Soviet cities, are involved in an extensive range of activities. Finally, we consider as the very base of all SSOD work the daily international-educational work aimed at specifically presenting the content of the ideas of peace and friendship and the importance of international contacts, carried out among millions of Soviet people by thousands of primary organizations of societies functioning at enterprises and establishments throughout the country.

Therefore, scientists and men of culture, members of the working class and the peasantry, public and state personalities, party and soviet workers and the broad working strata in our country are participating in the work of the Soviet organizations for friendship with the peoples of foreign countries today. This clearly illustrates once again the conclusion that the party's international activities have become nationwide in our country.

The process based on the laws of historical development of the increased role of the public in the international arena is continuing. The antiwar and antinuclear movements, involving the participation of millions of people on all continents, have become a most important factor in contemporary international life. The struggle waged by public forces in favor of the preservation and intensification of detente, the development of peaceful, mutually profitable cooperation among countries and peoples and strengthening good neighborly relations among them, is becoming increasingly effective and purposeful and is acquiring new features and forms. The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship With Foreign Countries plays a major role in this struggle.

The celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR provided a new incentive for the activities of progressive and democratic organizations the world over and the efforts of peace-loving forces on earth. During the anniversary of the founding of their state of the whole nation the Soviet working people reasserted to the peoples on earth their support of peace. The USSR is acting in the international arena with a full understanding of the fact that as a great power it bears great responsibility for the fate of mankind. This is reasserted again and again by the most important peace initiatives formulated by the land of the soviets, aimed at restraining the arms race and eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

National anniversary committees were created in a number of countries, with the participation of societies for friendship with the USSR in the course of the preparations for the anniversary celebration. Solemn meetings and scientific symposiums were held on the experience of the USSR in resolving the national problem, successes in the development of Soviet national republics, problems of socialist democracy and Soviet economy, culture and foreign policy. The traditional months of friendship and Soviet Union days and weeks and bilateral encounters were held in various countries under the sign of the 60th anniversary.

An international meeting of members of Soviet societies of friendship with the USSR and the Soviet public, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the multinational Soviet state, took place in Moscow from 23 to 25 November 1982. Noted public figures from almost 90 countries and representatives of a number of international organizations exchanged practical experience in acquainting the public with the achievements of the Soviet Union in various areas and discussed a wide range of problems related to the participation of the public in the struggle for peace, the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, and detente. They gave a high rating to Soviet peaceful foreign policy and the peace program for the 1980s. They emphasized that the international movement for friendship among nations and friendship with the Soviet Union is a structural component of the general struggle against war and for peace the world over. In their appeal to the friends of the Soviet Union abroad, the participants in the meeting called upon all people of good will to intensify the struggle for peace and against the arms race and to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear catastrophe.

The activity of the societies for friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and foreign countries is aimed at contributing through practical actions to good neighborhood and accord among nations, the development of comprehensive peaceful cooperation among them and growth of reciprocal trust as well as steadily broadening the social dialogue, cultural exchanges and human contacts and decisively countering efforts to replace normal contacts among countries with all kinds of "sanctions" and diktat and to expose anti-Sovietism and propaganda hostile to peace.

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FCP: CHALLENGE TO THE CAPITALIST CRISIS

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[Article by Georges Marchais, French Communist Party secretary general.
Based on a lecture presented at the Maurice Thorez Central Party School]

[Text] Eleven years ago, on 10 June 1971, L'HUMANITE published one of my articles which proved -- the FCP was the first to note this at that time -- that our country was undergoing a profound crisis. After clearly describing the scale of the problems, conflicts and difficulties which extended to all aspects of life in French society, I emphasized that their origins had to be sought in the social system itself -- the capitalist system.

Reaction to the article was immediate and ubiquitous: "Demagogy," "dogmatism," "exaggeration of difficulties," or, briefly, "groundless." Several years later Chirac still believed that he would see "the light at the end of the tunnel," while Giscard d'Estaing expressed his confidence that "the crisis was ending."

Years passed, and the facts fully confirmed that we were right. Today no one can deny any longer or conceal the depth and gravity of the crisis which had developed at a time when Giscard d'Estaing, Barre and Chirac, supporting one another, were running the country.

Suddenly, the question of the origins of the crisis and the reasons for the difficulties became topical. The supporters of capitalism shifted their arms from one shoulder to the other. Since they were no longer able to deny the existence of the crisis, all they could do in order to rehabilitate the regime was to look for its origins abroad.

Throughout the entire period of rightist rule, we rebuffed such campaigns firmly. We exposed all assertions that the crisis had been inevitable. We exposed the true origins of the evil: capitalist rule with its excessive ownership rights and management of the country's entire economic and social life; and capitalism's inability to resolve arising problems, to meet the expectations of our people and to secure the upsurge of the nation and the development and blossoming of human values given its financial profitability criteria. We supported all forms of national struggle aimed at guaranteeing and increasing purchasing power, stopping the growth of unemployment, preserving national and regional property and ensuring production growth.

In brief, we set as our main targets the struggle against the crisis, and for the solution of the vitally important problems facing our society and the search for solutions consistent with the interests of France and its people.

By this token we consistently urged that the need for a change assume the main role in French political life. In 1981 we did everything possible to remove the right wing from power. A great deal in France changed for the better after the victory of the left: The decision to nationalize industry and the bank groups was made; a process of decentralization was initiated, and new rights were granted to the working people. Now it is a question of making full use of such positive changes, finding a solution to the crisis and throwing it back internationally and domestically.

Is this possible?

Indeed, could it be that the crisis is universally fatal?

Does indeed the crisis in our country stem from the capitalist structure of French society and does it require, as a basic solution, the creation of a new French-style socialist social system?

Is it indeed possible as of now, acting through the government and the leftist majority, to ease the burden carried by France and to move ahead in resolving existing problems?

My preface will deal with answers to these questions.

First of all, is the crisis a "global" disease against which the individual nations are known to be helpless?

Our answer is no! Solutions do exist.

To limit ourselves to talk of a "world crisis" means to conceal the tremendous situational differences existing in the world. It is true that all capitalist countries are experiencing difficulties, but of quite different scale and nature. While we refuse to apply the muddled concept of "world crisis," we do not deny in the least its international dimensions. Conversely, we wish to study it in all of its aspects and complexities.

Above all, the crisis is international in the sense that it is striking at all developed capitalist countries.

Today there are 11 million unemployed in the United States and as many in the European "10." In a single year unemployment increased by 80 percent in Canada and 45 percent in the FRG. Output is declining in many developed capitalist countries. The largest enterprises are threatened with bankruptcy. Prospects for an industrial upsurge are becoming increasingly distant in the United States, Western Europe and Japan, and a further drop is not excluded. Dozens of millions of people have seen their living standards drop and are experiencing privations and broken dreams. Some families have reached a state of profound desperation, for at this end of the 20th century the living standard of 31 million people in the United States, under President Reagan,

live below the official poverty line. We note today the decline of the "models" which were being imposed on our people by rightist forces and big entrepreneurs. The American mirage has dissipated. The West German "miracle" has failed and even the Japanese "model" has not justified the hopes.

The crisis is international in another sense as well: It is related to the development of world trade, the fluctuation in currency rates and the rights granted international economic and financial organizations. Briefly, the crisis is related to realities which, in the final account, depend on the correlation among world forces.

These international factors are influencing the situation in all countries. Above all, they are increasing the difficulties experienced by the developed capitalist countries. The basic unity of interests of the ruling classes in these countries does not exclude the struggle for influence and aggravated competitiveness. Thus, for example, the policy pursued by the various Western countries -- one of rigid economy toward their own nations and plunder of Third World countries -- has brought about a tightening of markets and a reduction in the volume of world trade. It has increased competition and disturbed the balance among countries even further.

Relying on its dominating positions and the privileged position of the dollar in international trade, the United States is trying to export its own crisis. It is not only intensifying its diktat and plundering and robbing "the weakest," but is also trying to shift some of its own difficulties to its Western partners.

In our country the orientation of French capital and rightist forces toward U. S. policy and the EEC has resulted in the distorted development of entire lines of our national potential and brought about the fact that many advanced industrial sectors have been sacrificed to American capital, while sectors such as metallurgy and machine-tool building have been made to suit West German capitalism. It is precisely these same people who were in power only yesterday, these commanders of capitulation, these knights of defeatism, who are protesting today, when the leftist government is making decisions aimed at protecting our economy and making it less vulnerable to outside pressure!

These same international factors, i.e., the subordinating of global trade to the interests of the dominating capitalist countries, are also exerting a rather substantial influence on Third World countries.

The situation of these countries has worsened considerably. In recent years, the per capita income of 2 billion people has declined. In 1981, for the first time after gaining their independence, the developing countries experienced an economic decline. Seven hundred million people are suffering from hunger and malnutrition, and 47,000 children die every single day. Food production is encountering increasing hardships. The indebtedness of these countries is rising steadily. It reached \$520 billion at the end of 1981. Some of them are on the verge of bankruptcy. Meanwhile, the possibility that the crisis within the capitalist system may worsen can only increase the danger of the dramatic consequences threatening billions of people.

Let us point out that the countries which are building socialism are facing some problems too. However, they are of a different nature and the distinction in this case is important.

Above all, their problems are related to their efforts to organize a socialist economy. As we know, the socialist revolutions did not take place in the highly developed countries (evidently with the exception of Czechoslovakia), as Marx and Engels had anticipated, but in less developed and frequently quite poor ones, in which the legacy of feudalism, capitalism and colonialism had become a particularly heavy burden. This low starting point was and remains a major hindrance for a number of socialist countries.

Nevertheless, it is easy to realize that despite all kinds of difficulties related to the starting levels and the wars which were imposed on these countries by the imperialists in the recent past, as was the case with the Soviet Union, the European countries, China, Korea and Vietnam, the socialist countries have unquestionably achieved high results, particularly if we take into consideration the grandeur and novelty of this great human undertaking and the conditions under which it took place.

Furthermore, the countries building socialism also face certain restrictions imposed by the international crisis, i.e., the crisis which has developed in the capitalist countries with which they trade. They are forced to impose on their peoples the burden of the arms race, which is also imposed by imperialism. Furthermore, they must meet the obligations stemming from the requirements of international solidarity. This is a heavy burden.

Therefore, we can see once again that despite the great variety of means related to the growing disparity in their circumstances, the socialist countries are showing a real ability to counter such external restraining factors. Naturally, these factors slow down their growth. However, growth there is and, as a general rule, its pace is higher than that in the capitalist countries.

Let me add that, by and large, the socialist countries are resolving their problems without encroaching on the rights of the working people, violating the guarantee of employment or imposing a policy of rigid economy. That is why the term "crisis" is inapplicable in their case.

Finally, there are problems which are the result of regrettable errors and omissions on their part, which have hindered the development of socialism. In themselves, the development of the social system which these countries are building and the new needs which arise in their peoples in the course of such construction create difficulties and contradictions. The essence of the matter, however, is that these countries are most persistently undertaking to resolve the important problem of democratization of all social, economic and political life. This, we believe, is a universal component of socialism.

It is true that the problems facing the countries which are building socialism require a policy of social progress aimed at the increasing satisfaction of the variety of growing requirements; a policy of upgrading economic efficiency through the type of production management reforms aimed at increasing

labor productivity on the basis of the development of the scientific and technical revolution; a policy of democratization of all facets of social life with a view to releasing initiative and strengthening local responsibility. There is increasingly abundant proof that most socialist countries are engaged in important reforms aimed at answering such new requirements through specific methods consistent with the features of the individual nations.

On the other hand, the situation in Poland indicates that any hitch in progress along this road and any lack of resolve in correcting past errors lead to stops in development and to tension in all social life. We have repeatedly expressed our concern at the situation which has developed in friendly socialist Poland. Today, more than ever before, we would like to repeat our hope that Poland will find by itself the way to national accord and renovation, which presumes the implementation of the profound reforms I mentioned.

All of this helps to understand why cannot speak of a "crisis" in the strict meaning of the term when we describe the difficulties encountered by the socialist countries.

We claim that a crisis exists in the capitalist system because no long-term solutions to the problems facing the capitalist countries exist within the system itself. The crisis which exists in these countries requires a change in their current social system. It demands societal changes and a socialist reorganization.

Conversely, the solution of the problems facing the socialist society require not a conversion to another system but the intensification and development of the existing one in all its aspects and to its full potential.

The study of these international realities makes us realize the scale of the problems and the true nature of the tasks facing our age. We are experiencing a crisis in the very nature of technical development and social life, a product of the crisis of capitalism and its global domination system.

In fact, mankind is experiencing major changes. The accumulation of knowledge, the scientific and technical revolution and the headlong advance in the information and automation areas are all bringing about the overturning of the old social structures and are profoundly affecting the individual aspects of man's life. New aspirations are arising for a freer life, choosing one's own job and actively participating in a richer and more saturated social life. These new requirements make even more unbearable the aggravation of social and national inequalities and the existence of old ills such as hunger, unemployment, poverty, endemic diseases and illiteracy. As we proclaimed at our 24th congress, "The universal desire for emancipation, and the level reached in the development of production forces and knowledge demand the creation of a new civilization."

Such demands notwithstanding, all capitalism is offering are prospects of excessive exploitation, low skills, increased inequality and all kinds of waste and disorder. Having lost the possibility of resorting unhindered to war for attaining its objectives, imperialism is trying to reach them by other means: It leaves unused man's greatest possible potential, destroys

production capacities and wastes natural resources. At the same time, it is increasing international tension so that peaceful coexistence, into which it has been forced, is not accompanied by disarmament measures.

Therefore, the type of development brought about by capitalism, which is in a state of crisis, clashes with the expectations of the peoples, hinders progress, aggravates problems, and leaves human needs unsatisfied. That is why, as we pointed out, we live in a "revolutionary age," in which the universal need for revolutionary changes in technology and economics, decision making, and management practices is gradually becoming a universal requirement.

The crisis in the capitalist type of development also contains the reasons for the aggravation of the class struggle and the increase in tension on a global scale.

The Reagan administration has given a new impetus to aggressive imperialist policy in all areas. On the military level this means a new spiral in the ruinous arms race, intensified expansion of American military bases and support of regimes which play the role of "gendarmes" in protecting U. S. interests in various parts of the world. On the economic and political levels it means increasing pressure and diktat: Efforts to undermine the gains of the policy of peaceful coexistence, in Europe in particular, the desire to slow down the growth of the developing the socialist countries and to hinder the progress of national liberation forces. This, in addition to all else, is the meaning of a broad campaign, concealed, among others, behind the slogan of "defense of human rights," the purpose of which is to defame socialism by all possible means for the sake of destroying the hope of millions of people in the system and to whitewash imperialism, and make them forget the crimes it is committing throughout the world.

As we pointed out at our 24th congress, the aggravation of these intrigues which endanger universal peace should not mislead us. Far from proving strength, they only reflect the aggravation of the difficulties encountered by imperialism, and its aspiration to regain its lost positions by hindering as best it can the profound changes which are taking place in the world today and which question the entire system of its rule. Therefore, there are no reasons whatever to fear such aggressive imperialist intrigues. Furthermore, everything points out that conditions to reduce tension exist, providing only that the peoples take this matter in their own hands, move ahead in their search for a solution to the international crisis, and take successful steps toward the establishment of a new international economic order.

The struggle for a new international economic order means, above all, acting to ensure the efficient solution to the key problem of the development of Third World countries. Such actions are inseparable from the struggle for weakening capitalist domination of world trade, for the broad development of relations among countries with different social systems, for securing greater autonomy for the Western European countries and for any capitalist country which is experiencing today the burden of the domination of the United States and some other capitalist countries.

Furthermore, such action must be carried out in close connection with the struggle for security, peace and disarmament, which is gaining a new scope in the face of the danger of an intensified arms race and the losses related to it, which block the solution of vitally important problems facing the nations. A single figure will suffice: According to data of the prestigious Stockholm Institute for the Study of Problems of Peace, military expenditures exceeded the dizzying figure of \$600 billion in 1981!

The elimination of the crisis on the international level is also related to the profound reorganization of the monetary and financial systems. The excessive privileges enjoyed by the dollar as international currency, its inflated and artificially maintained rate of exchange and drastic fluctuations allow the multinational banks and companies secretly to engage in a real racket affecting nations and states and to earn fabulous profits to the detriment of any type of creation of real wealth. The developing countries are choking from their indebtedness and international governmental and private financial institutions are in the hands of big capital and obey the orders of the United States.

Therefore, the current monetary and financial institutions must be made truly democratic and international. A persistent struggle must be waged against the privileged position of the dollar through the use of other currency papers and the creation of development funds which would be controlled by the developing countries themselves.

Efficient action must be taken against the monopoly cartels and the trading privileges enjoyed by the most powerful imperialist countries. The arbitrariness and blackmail practiced by petroleum and mineral extraction companies in setting prices for raw materials produced in Third World countries (a basic problem, for the worsening of trade conditions affecting these countries and the burden of their growing indebtedness drastically hinder and even reduce to naught their efforts to develop their industries and train national cadres) could be entirely replaced with intergovernmental agreements which would ensure trade on a mutually profitable basis and would include intensive scientific and technical cooperation.

The struggle against hunger is of the same nature. This calamity is being aggravated today, although the full use of production capacities, which either remain idle or are reduced in the main capitalist countries, and the wide practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements would make possible considerably to meet requirements in this area. The policy of using food as a weapon by American farming and food production trusts can be blamed for aggravating the hunger problem. This offers the French and other European allies of the United States good opportunities for assuming responsibility for the elimination of this obstacle and offering the interested countries acceptable agreements and helping them to develop their own agriculture and food production.

France's international prestige and the hope which the victory of the left triggered in the world have led to the fact that today our country bears particular responsibility in the struggle for the establishment of a new international order.

This is consistent with its own interests as well. Actually, how can we ignore the tremendous potential of the growth and social progress of billions of awakening people and nations who, as they free themselves, are shaking up the colonialist and neocolonialist order and are taking a new road to independence, whose importance is bound to increase substantially and which can change the image of the world? France could only benefit from increasing its ties with these countries on the basis of the principles of mutual interest. It could not only find in them markets for its output but help to realize the most valuable human, cultural and scientific potential.

It can only benefit from the reorganization of its trade with the capitalist countries. Progress in this direction must parallel the development and increased variety of relations between us and Third World and socialist countries. Thus, tremendous possibilities exist for cooperation between them and France in the fields of power industry, agricultural production, the food industry, transportation and science and technology, aimed at improving technologies which are most suited to the needs of the individual nations.

Western Europe as well can play its role in these areas in terms of achieving greater independence and autonomous development.

We see, therefore, that an efficient struggle against the crisis, conducted on an international level, is both profitable and necessary. The struggle for a new international economic order and for peace and disarmament is a struggle against the crisis and a contribution to the solution of international problems and, therefore, the problems facing our own country.

However, let us not delude ourselves at this point: Whatever developments may take place in the world beyond our borders, and however great the successes achieved by the peoples in the international arena may be, it is only our own struggle within our own country that plays and will always play a decisive role in surmounting the crisis in France. We do not belittle in the least the reality of the international crisis and its fatal consequences to our economy. However, it would be erroneous to believe that France is tied hands and feet to "external factors." The crisis in our country was not "imported." Its roots lie precisely in France, in the capitalist system. There is a world capitalist crisis because a crisis in the capitalist system is developing in each separate country. Each capitalist country is revealing the inability of that system to meet national and popular needs and to satisfy the most important requirements of social development.

The face of our country has changed within the life of a single generation. A profound reorganization of social structures, human relations and the behavior and feelings of the people has taken place. However, the logic of the pursuit of profit has distorted the nature of these unquestionably progressive changes. It has turned them against themselves and into a means for a new intensification of oppression.

Although scientific and technical progress has made radical improvements in the situation and working conditions of working men and women possible, their use by capitalism resulted in the disqualification of workers, reduced employment and increased share of repeated and monotonous operations.

Whereas scientific and technical progress urgently requires advanced training and improved worker skills and knowledge, capitalism led to lowered school education and social segregation and the entire educational system into a profound crisis.

Whereas the increased number of working women increased their aspiration to freedom in all fields of life, capitalism converted this phenomenon into an additional instrument of exploitation and alienation.

Whereas urbanization opens the way to a new and more humane way of life in the cities, capitalism expelled the families of simple people from the central areas of the cities and led to the depopulation of the countryside.

Whereas successes achieved in technological developments awakened to a tremendous degree the desire of people for information and culture, in pursuit of profit capitalism answered this with a standardization of spiritual values, reduced opportunities for creative work, subordinating cultural life to fashion and the Americanization of culture and the use of the new information media for the ideological indoctrination of the masses.

Whereas the need for independent and sovereign existence of each country and the assertion of the national originality of the nations are increasingly manifesting themselves, capitalism is leading the world to monotony, dependence, the elimination of nations and the rejection of their originality.

Such is the price for capitalist rule which society pays in economic and social and even human relations. The basis of all problems, difficulties and obstacles is only one: Capitalism's pursuit of profit.

Naturally, the forces of capitalism have a different view. They would like to preserve their ruling system. That is why they are making everywhere tremendous efforts to adapt to the new circumstances. However, the adaptation process itself is paid for with tremendous losses and sacrifices on the part of nations and entire countries!

Consider once again what all this has brought to France.

For the sake of their own advantages, the economic and financial circles have reduced these past years outlays for scientific research and industrial capital investments, neglected the skill upgrading system and reduced the number of production jobs by nearly one million. They have thus seriously undermined the foundations of the competitiveness of our industry and our current production level is only slightly above the 1974 one.

Failing to find markets sufficiently profitable from their view point for the tremendous surplus of accumulated capital, i.e., markets which could yield the highest returns in the shortest possible time, ignoring the interests of the national economy and trying to undermine the major democratic and social gains of the masses, they reduced, step by step, capital investments in the national industry and the production of capital goods. They closed down plants, thus undermining entire national economic sectors and depriving entire regions from basic means of subsistence, such as Lorraine or the

northern part of the country. Meanwhile, benefiting from the priority right to use state funds and credits, they channeled huge resources borrowed from the national property into other sectors, investing their capitals in all kinds of financial speculations and parasitical consumption sectors and increasing the export of capital.

Capital investments of private enterprises accounted for 60 percent of their total profits in 1974. The figure dropped to 50 percent in 1981. Today capital exports exceed the entire volume of private capital investments in French industry. While remaining loyal to the traditions of mercantilism, usury and speculation inherent in French capitalism, the favorites of fortune invest their funds in foreign stocks and high-interest yielding loans instead of using them to develop our production machinery, allowing the inadmissible squandering of the wealth created at enterprises. Two hundred thousand of the richest French families have invested no more than one third of their fortunes in capital goods, thus controlling in their selfish interests a significant share of industry, while the remaining two thirds are split among financial operations and real estate.

Such a policy of neglect of national interests has resulted in the excessive growth of imports to meet domestic market needs. France is forced to spend 45 out of each 100 francs invested in industry on foreign goods.

Had an end been put to capitalist waste, as the communists proposed, France and its enterprises would not have faced the problem of the obsolescence of its industrial machinery and would not have fallen behind in cadre training and upgrading worker skills precisely at a time when the upsurge of production forces demands considerable investments in scientific research and worker vocational training.

At the same time, the rightist forces and entrepreneurs have systematically used inflation, price increases, reductions in the real income of the working people and the depreciation of their savings. The value of the franc has dropped by 37 percent over the last 7 years. Privations have been added to unemployment and fears of job losses, failed hopes and lack of confidence in the future, affecting the families of working people.

Therefore, the policy of rigid economy and redistribution of capital merely aggravated the ill which it was supposed to cure. It intensified the crisis, increased unemployment and put off the prospects of economic recovery.

Now, following their old methods, the entrepreneurs are trying to intensify this legacy of the moneyed bosses. Those who led France to catastrophe dare today to issue admonitions, speak in categorical tones of voice, increase the pressure and demand the return to a policy consistent with their interests -- a policy of strict economy and reduced unemployment, which are presented as an inevitable ill.

We oppose allowing such people the right to manage the enterprises which create the wealth of our country unhindered and totally uncontrolled. They like to show off their "competence." But how do they apply the tremendous power they have? How do they manage the economy and in whose interest do they

make decisions? Why is the level of capital investments so low? Why are such large funds withdrawn from industry? To what use are their profits being put? What is the justification for their huge expenditures? Briefly, what are they doing with the wealth created by the working people?

They waste it. Their management of the economy is poor. Only two of all newly nationalized industrial enterprises have shown a profit! It has become entirely obvious that in the course of their daily management of enterprises and finances they have been undermining our country's material and human potential. Day after day they have contributed to pushing France into the abyss of the crisis.

No, the French bourgeoisie lacks the necessary competence to resolve the basic problems facing our society. It is unable to offer us any kind of long-term prospects. The French bourgeoisie is bankrupt. Its sole purpose is to last as long as it can even if this results in the fall of France. We cannot permit it to do so. Our people deprived it of governmental power. It can no longer exercise total economic power, depriving the working people of the right to participate in the management of the country's economy.

Socialism is on the agenda. The aggravation of the crisis does not allow any long-term postponement of making profound social changes. On the contrary, it is precisely such changes which provide long-term solutions to the problems facing our country.

Our plan for the reorganization of society is based on the characteristic of France: Its historical expectation and traditions, the new requirements which are becoming increasingly urgent under the circumstances of the present crisis, and France's real position in today's world. It is based on the country's characteristics so that it can meet them better. Our concept is not based on a predetermined "model," nor do we offer it as a "model" suitable to other countries.

We note, first of all, that France needs a just society which will allow all women and men to have the right to stable employment in their field and to benefit from the living conditions and possibilities of our age, which are being held today by a privileged minority.

Naturally, justice does not mean in the least standardization. In their efforts to alienate the working people from the great opportunity we offer them, our opponents do not shy at even the grossest misrepresentations. All sorts of stupidities are being disseminated on our account, while we are striving to create a society in which every woman and every man will be able to overcome that which capitalism is denying them today -- the possibility of developing their personality and organizing their lives as they see fit.

The communists are depicted as people suffering from the "mania" of collective consumption. This is absurd. What we want is to offer to one and all the possibility of meeting their own requirements and the needs of their families in all areas, for the simple reason that capitalism curtails both, although our country requires their further interrelated development.

Secondly, in order to be meet the requirements of modern technology and international cooperation, France needs a new growth aimed at creating an economy consistent with the needs of the people rather than subordinating them to the power of capital as is presently the case. Our plan calls for the formulation of new criteria for managing the governmental sector, based on a sufficient number of nationalized enterprises, the setting of new targets consistent with the needs of the country and public efficiency rather than the interests of private profit, an unprecedented upgrading of skills and developing the initiative and broadening the rights of working people of all categories.

Our opponents claim that the communists are trying to deprive by force every person of the right of ownership. This is one more lie which ignores the fact that we have been asserting the opposite tirelessly and unequivocally. Would we encroach on the private ownership of various consumer objects or the right to inherit them, such as a car, an apartment or a cottage in the country? The refutation itself of such fabrications is demeaning. Unfortunately, however, not every one knows that we are precisely favoring the creation of the type of society in which anyone who so desires would have the right to private property, i.e., to what capitalism is denying the people today.

In precisely the same manner, for a number of years we have been explaining that the agrarian problem in our country -- for France does not belong to the Third World -- does not mean expropriation but the protection of the farmers' property from the threat of capitalism, which is devastating the countryside, and aiding the development and improvement of private farms.

We equally oppose the idea of eliminating or even "postponing the elimination" of petty ownership in industry and trade. Once again, this is not a question of double-dealing or tactics but a sector which we believe our country needs today but which, however, is endangered by the big capitalist groups, not to mention the fact that the concentration and socialization of small and medium enterprises may simply prove to be economic nonsense.

Thirdly, France needs democracy.

As its crisis intensifies, capitalism does not put a stop to its antidemocratic practices, such as concentrating ownership, power and knowledge in the hands of a few, the widening of the gap between the state and the citizenry, coercing the working people into silence and assigning them the role of pawns in a game of chess. This process must be reversed if we are to come out of the crisis, and to secure the development of democracy in all its aspects.

In particular, we must replace the entrepreneurial rule of "work and shut up" with new civic qualities on the job. As we said, "there can be no republic in society as long as monarchy rules at the enterprise." That is why, while opposing capitalist management monopoly we are struggling for a higher form of democracy, such as worker self-management which, combined with strict respect for the expression of the people's will, increases their right to access to information, suggestion and decision making and assumption of responsibility.

The historical battles fought by our people and their present aspirations, which blend with growing aspirations throughout the world, have made respect for and expansion of human rights the imperative of our time. We are struggling to raise this effort to its full significance and universal scope. We are communists precisely because we reject any kind of barracks society in which passive obedience, silence in the presence of the all-powerful and humility in the face of misfortune are the rule.

Finally, France needs a new cultural renaissance and the establishment of a new type of human relations.

We call for having the type of schools which would offer equal opportunities and be closely related to reality, and for a culture which would become accessible to both sexes. We are in favor of a working time which will no longer be synonymous with oppression, dependence and chains which restrain the development of the individual, and more leisure time enriched with new opportunities. We react sensitively to all that is new and encourage the development of culture in all its manifestations, ranging from literature and the arts to science, technology, physical culture and sports.

In accusing us of "narrow-mindedness," "sectarianism," and "laborism," which "threaten creativity," our opponents pretend not to notice the realities in our country: The exploitation of the working people, entrepreneurial management monopoly and pursuit of profit, which freeze the social results of new developments and discoveries; the social inequality of students; the working and living conditions of the majority of the population, which prevent the artist from developing a dialog with the public, something his creative work vitally needs. Narrow-mindedness? Today narrow-mindedness is found in the system which turns culture into a luxury inaccessible to the majority. Threat to creativity? Today creativity consists of a system which sacrifices the fruitful study of the cultures of other nations to the benefit of aggressive and inferior Americanization which distorts local traditions and undermines the country's cultural potential.

France must create a historically new type of culture which would allow it at the same time to create new conditions for intellectual activity.

Human relations must be radically improved as well. Obviously, we are a political party and therefore not all personality problems pertain to the field of policy. However, we cannot but struggle against the inhumanity of capitalism. We cannot remain silent at the sight of the dehumanizing effect it creates, the law of the jungle, which it has adopted as its behavioral norm, the suppression of the weak, and the violence and scorn which dominate a society nearing its end. Socialism, to which we aspire, will be the continuation of the battle waged by our people for humanism.

Such is the great prospect which inspires all our actions.

For the past 18 months, as members of the government and the ruling majority, we have tried to use all available opportunities to ensure the successful solution of problems. We are doing this, aware of the considerable opportunities which France has at its disposal. France has all it takes to ensure

its true independent decision-making process, which would enable it to take the path of true renewal.

It is on this level that I would like to single out some of the directions which we consider decisive and which will enable us to pursue what we started in May 1981.

First of all, in order to relieve the external pressure we must give priority to recapturing our domestic market. As we have already stated, we must "produce French goods."

I have already mentioned, those who pretend to show concern notwithstanding, the type of new relations which our country could establish in the field of international cooperation. We also believe, however, that France could play a more significant role in the world only if it relies on a solid and steadily expanding domestic market.

The expansion of competitive production on national soil must enjoy priority over the export of capital.

Secondly, it is a question of increasing the purchasing power of the working people and reducing the squandering of capital.

If we are to believe the entrepreneurs, the financial resources of the enterprises are insufficient to finance a new upsurge in domestic production. They also cite the allegedly excessive costs of social benefits and wages. This argument does not withstand criticism for at least two reasons, above all the fact that the real levels of wages and social outlays in France are hardly higher than those of our competitors and because higher wages are inseparable from higher labor productivity. It is also clear to every one that reducing the purchasing power of the working people narrows the markets for our goods and only aggravates difficulties.

Naturally, this does not resolve the problem of development resources. But, let us point out once again, it is not a question of wages and social gains which, in fact, are levers of progress and economic efficiency but of wasteful outlays for speculative and parasitical purposes in France and abroad.

Resources, considerable resources at that, are available. Today, however, they are being wasted. They must be made to serve the cause of national economic renovation.

Thirdly, it is a question of upgrading the skills of the working people and securing greater rights for them. This is a most important matter. We must fully satisfy the tremendous need of the working people for higher skills and gradually but steadily narrow the gap between workers and technicians and engineering and management personnel. Making vocational training the priority task of the nation is the primary condition for attaining high labor productivity. This must become a structural component of the solution of the overall problem -- improving the conditions and meaning of labor.

Fourthly, it is a question of developing new economic management criteria which will grant the working people, all citizens, broader rights. The real "enterprise management experts" (to use the expression usually applied to the entrepreneurs) are those who work there: workers, technicians, engineers and administrative personnel. It is precisely they who should be granted new rights and powers instead of meeting the claim of the National Council of French Entrepreneurs of subordinating the entire life of the enterprise to the sole will of its proprietor. We are already familiar with the results of the long years of management monopoly enjoyed by the entrepreneurs.

In 1981 the men and women of France spoke out in favor of a new policy for resolving major national problems. The proposals formulated by our party were supported by 4.5 million voters. This is a valuable support. However, the majority of left-wing voters favored Francois Mitterrand's proposals. It is precisely respect for the choice made by the voters that enabled us to ensure the defeat of the rightist forces and later to assume our place as part of the majority and in the government. We did this with the clear purpose of using all newly opened opportunities for the successful solution of the problems.

It is self-evident that this respect does not mean in the least a denial of the characteristics of each of the forces comprised in today's majority. It is precisely this that led me to present the communist views on the crisis and the ways to surmount it. Without any attempt at concealing the magnitude of the task awaiting us, we would like to prove that its solution is within our power. It presumes the participation of the working people and the initiative of as many people as possible.

What makes this even more necessary is the fact that the implementation of a policy of social and national progress is encountering the desperate resistance of capitalist forces. Their purpose is to preserve the bulk of their privileges and to create conditions for their return to power.

Our party will spare no efforts to put an end to this dream of revenge. This is the meaning of the nationwide battle which it has decided to wage for the renovation of the French economy, social progress and the rights of the working people. Our sole enemies here are the forces of the past and our sole objective is to serve the expectations of our people and our country's interests. That is precisely why, unquestionably, the French men and women are realizing and will realize through personal experience that they need a great communist party.

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ON THE PATH TO FULL SOCIAL EQUALITY

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[Review by M. Iovchuk, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and Professor L. Kogan, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the book "Stanovleniye Sotsial'noy Odnorodnosti" [Establishment of Social Homogeneity] by M. N. Rutkevich. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 334 pp]

[Text] In recent years Soviet social scientists have made extensive studies of the social structure of developed socialist society. The 26th party congress classified further work on this problem among the most important in the social sciences. That is why, as he opens yet one more book on this topic, the reader justifiably asks what new information could he gain from it, and how it will increase his knowledge on the social structure of Soviet society and the establishment of its social homogeneity.

In our view, the author's effort to consider the process of change in the social structure of developed socialism as one of progress toward social equality represents such an "increase in knowledge." This essential idea of the book is systematically integrated in the entire work.

The author considers the various aspects of the problem, mainly the development and improvement of the socioclass structure of Soviet society at the mature socialist stage. He studies the essence of intraclass differences through a detailed analysis and the social differences among professional and demographic social groups and between urban- and rural-type settlements.

The author considers all "sections" and aspects of the social structure of contemporary Soviet society in their dialectical interconnection and interpenetration. He also points out that sociodemographic (among groups of young people, women and pensioners), socioprofessional and socioterritorial differences are relatively independent in their development. The point is that they are also related to still-remaining substantial differences between physical and mental work and town and country, and some vestiges of social inequality between sexes, different living conditions in one part of the country or another, and so on. Whereas the elimination of class distinctions in their main and basic features may be achieved as the result of the establishment of a classless social structure within the historical framework of developed socialism, a number of social distinctions may remain within this society, for it will not become entirely socially homogeneous in one fell swoop.

In describing the reasons for vestiges of social inequality in our society, the author considers differences in the nature and content of labor essential. The elimination of such vestiges, which appear in the social differences between workers engaged in labor which may be skilled or unskilled, simple or complex, physical or mental, and heavy manual and mechanized is, in the author's view, the main prerequisite for the establishment of a socially homogeneous societal structure. It is on this basis that he discusses the role which the rapprochement among classes and social groups in the developed socialist society occurs in terms of productive capital, position in the social organization of labor and the distribution of material and spiritual goods. This approach offers an idea of the dependence of the future development of the socioclass structure in socialist society on the increased level of maturity of socialist economic relations. However, he takes into consideration the significant influence exerted by the socioclass structure and development trends in various superstructural areas such as the political, legal, ideological, and so on.

The study of social and national differences is equally interesting. The Soviet people are not only a new historical component of the international community but a social community as well. Such a community could appear only on the basis of similar and more or less similarly developed social structures of member nations and nationalities. This idea is supported with extensive factual data. On the basis of all-union population censuses and other statistical data, the author traces the way the social structures of Soviet republics (union and autonomous), and Soviet nations and nationalities have been gradually equalized, including in terms of the percentage of national cadres within the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia, educational standards and a number of other social indicators.

The author also considers a number of controversial and insufficiently developed problems, including the "boundaries" of the Soviet working class, the so-called "marginal strata" ("workers-intellectuals"), the dialectical correlation between integration and differentiation in the process of development of the social structure, the position of "practitioners" without specialized training within the intelligentsia, and so on.

Our scientific publications distinguish between the "rapprochement" among classes as a real process currently under way and the "merger" of classes as the future end result of this process. Although agreeing with this, the author believes that the very process of rapprochement among classes already contains the embryos, the elements of their merger which, in his view, appear as the "marginal strata." Among them he includes such highly skilled working strata as "workers-intellectuals." The continuing process of class rapprochement, the author emphasizes, does not exclude the existence of substantial differences in the least.

While agreeing with the author's general train of thought, we cannot consider apt the example of "workers-intellectuals" as an illustration of the process of rapprochement and merger among classes. Differences between workers and intellectuals are not based on class in the strict meaning of the term, and a different approach should be taken to their analysis. Nevertheless, the

author justifiably pays great attention to the elimination of social disparities between mental and physical labor as one of the prerequisites for the establishment of a classless social structure.

In considering the intellectualization of physical labor an important means for its rapprochement with mental work, the author discusses in detail the so-called "technization" of mental work, i.e., its increasing saturation with elements of "highly skilled physical labor." This applies to the extensive use of computer and office equipment, complex apparatus and instruments in medicine, technical training facilities, the supplying of nonspecialist employees and accountants with calculators, and so on (see pp 136-138). In this manner, the rapprochement between mental and physical labor would be one-sidedly considered merely as "upgrading" physical labor to the level of mental work: this is a two-sided process of qualitative changes in both types of labor, as a result of which an essentially new phenomenon--communist labor--is established and develops.

While noting the certain merits of this book, we should draw attention to a number of controversial features. Thus, M. N. Rutkevich assumes that the elimination of social disparities of an interclass nature and differences of intraclass nature should be viewed as a single process (see pp 30 and 114).

In our view, in reality this problem is far more complex, for the nature of these differences is different. In the first case we are dealing with differences related to the existence of two forms of socialist ownership. As the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress emphasize, such differences could be surmounted in their main and essential features within the historical framework of developed socialism. As to intraclass differences, they are not directly related to ownership relations. Many of them are based on differences in the content and nature of labor and, consequently, their elimination could take a longer historical period. The empirical data cited in the book and the manifestation of trends not only leading to integration but to further differentiation in connection with the increased complexity of the vocational structure in society, confirm this view.

The problem of the future development of mental work and the intelligentsia requires a more profound approach. Several sections in the book deal with the study of differences between specialists and employees. In our view, nevertheless, the author has insufficiently taken into consideration the fact that the intelligentsia neither was nor is a separate class. Therefore, the question of the future of the people's intelligentsia, which essentially goes beyond the limits of surmounting class differences, remains insufficiently clarified.

We find a number of practical suggestions formulated in the book interesting, ranging from upgrading the prestige of engineering and improving production wages to improving the teaching of languages in national schools and from increasing the struggle against black marketeering to improving the use of the labor of retirees (according to 1978 estimates given in the book, no more than 18 percent of their overall number are permanently employed in the national economy). We believe that this work would have benefitted had such recommendations been combined in the same section, the conclusion, for instance.

Unquestionably, the last chapter, which criticizes our ideological opponents on the matter of the socioclass structure of the socialist society, is topical. The value of this chapter lies, above all, in displaying the theoretical groundlessness of bourgeois sociology and the critical analysis of its methods, as well as the exposure of the writings of various "Sovietologists"--ranging from open defenders of capitalism to those who try to present themselves as "true" Marxists.

As a whole, Politizdat is engaged in a necessary and useful project by publishing the "Socialism: Experience, Problems, Prospects" series, which includes books on topical problems of development of Soviet society.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 pp 126-127

[Text] R. Kh. Abdullayeva. "Rukovodstvo KPSS Sovetami v Period Zrelogo Sotsializma (Na Materialakh Partorganizatsiy Uzbekskoy SSR)" [Managing the Soviets in the Period of Mature Socialism By the CPSU (Based on Materials of the Uzbek SSR Party Organization)]. Uzbekistan, Tashkent, 1982, 295 pp. Reviewed by Professor A. Zevelev, doctor of historical sciences.

The increased role of the communist party and the soviets in the management of society and the further development and intensification of socialist democracy are the most important laws governing the political system of developed socialism. The theme of this monograph is a serious study of these laws, based on the practical work of Uzbek party organs.

The book begins with a chapter on the Leninist theory of soviets and its creative development by the party under mature socialist conditions. The study of the classical theoretical legacy and experience acquired by the CPSU in state construction provide the author with a methodological key to the study of the processes occurring in social life in contemporary Uzbekistan.

The monograph concentrates on the management of the republic's economic progress. The key problems on which Uzbek party and soviet organs focused their attention were the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the expansion and intensification of irrigated farming and the upsurge of animal husbandry.

The more extensive involvement of the republic's rural population in industrial production is a prerequisite for further economic growth. The means leading to the solution of this social problem, including the creation of branches and shops of industrial enterprises in rural areas and the development of vocational technical training, are extensively covered in the book.

The author emphasizes that in all cases the CPSU remains the main directing political leader of the masses, determining the basic strategic problems and the means to resolve them. As to the implementation of jointly formulated measures, the party and soviet organs operate in this case through their specific methods.

The purposefulness and efficiency of the party's leadership are traced by the author from Uzbek Communist Party congresses to the activities of local soviet executive committees. He describes in a lively and specific manner the way party committees headed the youth movement for mastering cotton-harvesting equipment and the path which led to the labor exploits of noted cotton growers Tursun Akhunova, Valentina Tyupko, Melikuza Umurzakova, Ganisher Yunusova and other heroines.

Supported by extensive factual data and with the help of archive documents, the author presents an impressive picture of Uzbek sociopolitical life at the mature socialist stage.

G. A. Ganshin. "Ocherk Ekonomiki Sovremennogo Kitaya"
[Outline of Contemporary Chinese Economy]. Mysl', Moscow,
1982, 316 pages. Reviewed by Professor A. Meliksetov,
doctor of historical sciences.

G. A. Ganshin's book, which is distinguished by its high theoretical level and broad scope of factual data, provides a rather complete picture of Chinese economic life during a complex period in its history, covering the last 3 decades. The combination of the historical with the structural approaches to the study of factual data and the close consideration of conclusions drawn by other researchers have enabled the author to depict both the origins and the contemporary functioning of the PRC's national economy. The author presents its economic structure as the result of the transformation of the country's traditional economic system. He ascribes great importance to the characterization of the initial socioeconomic levels reached by the PRC, justifiably assuming that a strict scientific assessment of development conditions in the old China is of great help in understanding not only the path followed in the development of the country's economy but its current relevant problems.

The author closely studies PRC economic policy in the first stage following the victory of the revolution (1949-1957), particularly the proclamation of the general line and the initiation of its implementation. "The first approximately 8 years," the author writes, "were years of essentially successful implementation of the socioeconomic program which created the necessary prerequisites for a transition to socialism. During that stage the PRC developed hand in hand with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries.... Gradually, conditions for building a socialist society were ripening in the country" (pp 42-43). This process was interrupted by attempts to "skip stages and build socialism and communism in China 'in one fell swoop'" (p 71).

From a formal viewpoint the development of production relations during the socioeconomic changes in the "great leap" period and the creation of "people's communes," should have led to the strengthening of "socialization" and "communization." In reality, however, they not only failed to contribute to the positive development of socialized ownership but held back its true socialist transformation. The explanation given by the author is that socialization "was of a formal-legal nature, ignoring the level and nature of social production forces" (p 64).

The author's interpretation of the process of socialization of productive capital in the PRC and his study of the socioeconomic nature of socialized ownership must be unquestionably considered as a definite contribution to the study of problems of interest to Marxists in different countries, related to revolutionary changes occurring in many contemporary countries. As we know, V. I. Lenin distinguished between the primary socialization of productive capital and material and spiritual goods, based on ownership changes, and actual socialization (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, pp 178 and 293-294). The author describes in detail how and why the actual socialization of productive capital was hindered in the PRC. A thoughtful consideration of turns in socioeconomic policy and in the development of individual economic sectors over the past 3 decades helps us to understand the reasons for the fact that the process was not completed.

Along with the study of the development of China's contemporary economic structure, the author considers the situation in the individual economic sectors (industry, agriculture, transportation and finance), as well as foreign economic relations. The socioeconomic study of each sector is accompanied by its extensive production-technical characterization. The author gives the history of the development of each one of them and its current condition and clarifies their growth trends. He specifically assesses both specific achievements in China's economy and its possibilities. These chapters are particularly rich in factual and especially statistical data which are carefully checked for accuracy and representativeness. The skillful use of such extensive materials makes the author's views and conclusions provable and convincing and the book as a whole quite informative.

The chapter on the material and cultural Chinese population standards proves quite well that attempts at forced production development, above all based on the extreme intensification of labor, practically led to a drastic drop in the interest shown by the working people in the results of their work and the lowering of labor productivity and labor discipline (see pp 254-255). In this respect, extensive work lies ahead to correct the situation which developed in the recent past and which the new Chinese leadership assesses as virtually catastrophic. It becomes a question of the more extensive use of economic methods, intensifying the economic autonomy of enterprises, price reform, higher wages, involvement of foreign credit and even direct foreign capital investments, reviving the activities of the private sector, increasing the material incentive of the peasantry, and so on.

The author considers quite attentively all new aspects in the economic policy pursued by China's leadership and in the specific economic situation in the country. He notes the intensification of economic methods in management and the increased realm of application of the principle of material incentive. At the same time, he describes the resumption of private enterprise in petty industry, trade and services, the restoration of the mixed state-capitalist sector, the appearance of foreign entrepreneurial activities, the breaking up of "communal" farming in the countryside and the assigning of productive capital (including the land) to individual production teams and farmsteads. All of this proves that substantial changes are being made the nature of which is defined by the author in terms of political economy as the reviving of a mixed economy.

The assessment of such new phenomena is very difficult and, naturally, triggers arguments among specialists. The author's approach to the study and evaluation of the development of a mixed economy in the PRC at the present stage appears weighed and convincing. "The return to a mixed economy," he writes, "is nothing but a lowering of the previously reached level in the development of production relations to the actual state of the country's production forces. This process has certain positive aspects in the sense that they make it possible to achieve a temporary reviving of the economic situation, and easing the stress in supplying the population with vitally important consumer goods" (p 98). However, the author does not stop there but engages in a detailed study of the possible negative aspects of such a policy, which could arise should a tactical retreat become a development strategy.

G. A. Ganshin's book is the result of long years of study by an author quite well-known for his works on China's economy. It is imbued with sympathy for the Chinese people and faith in the ability of the working people in the PRC to surmount the difficulties they are experiencing and to follow the path of social progress.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 83 p 128

[Text] 1. "Perepiska V. I. Lenina i Rukovodimyykh Uchrezhdeniy RSDRP s Partiynymi Organizatsiyami, 1905-1907 Gg." [Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and Leading RSDWP Institutions Under His Guidance and the Party Organizations in 1905-1905]. Collection of documents in 5 volumes. Edited by D. I. Antonyuk, M. S. Volin, M. A. Zotov, et al. Vol 2, April-June 1905; Book 1, April-May 1905, 356 pp; Book 2, June 1905, 349 pp. Mysl', Moscow, 1982.

2. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 12 Noyabrya 1982 Goda" [Materials of the 12 November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 14 pp.

3. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 22 Noyabrya 1982 Goda" [Materials of the 22 November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 30 pp.

4. "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S'yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums] Eighth expanded edition. Vol 14, 1980-1981. K. U. Chernenko and A. G. Yegorov general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 582 pp.

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11. Garbuzov, V. F. "O Gosudarstvennom Byudzhete SSSR na 1983 God i ob Ispolnenii Gosudarstvennogo Byudzheta SSSR za 1981 God" [On the 1983 USSR State Budget and the Execution of the 1981 USSR State Budget]. Report and concluding speech at the joint sessions of the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities, Seventh Session, tenth convocation. "Zakon Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik o Gosudarstvennom Byudzhete SSSR na 1983 God. Postanovleniye Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR ob Utrverzhenii Otcheta ob Ispolnenii Gosudarstvennogo Byudzheta SSSR za 1981 God" [Law of the USSR on the 1983 USSR State Budget. USSR Supreme Soviet Decree Ratifying the Report on the Execution of the 1981 USSR State Budget]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 31 pp.

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